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ABSTRACT

Designed to accompany and supplement the notebook "Resources for Teaching Virginia Government," this quarterly newsletter presents ideas, teaching strategies, and materials for government teachers and students. Issue No. 1 includes: (1) "The Gubernatorial Tenure Debate"; (2) "The Robb Years: An Interview with Larry Sabato"; (3) "Election Preview 1985: An Election Unit To Meet Standards of Learning Objectives"; (4) "The Sheriffs: Tradition and Reality"; (5) "Virginia's Jail Problems: Another View"; and (6) "Career Corner: Law Enforcement". Issue No. 2 contains: (1) "Toward a New Dominion"; (2) "Legislative Preview: General Assembly '86"; (3) "Career Corner: Careers of the Future"; (4) "Virginia Votes 1985: An Election Unit To Meet Standards of Learning Objectives"; (5) "Alignment and Dealignment: An Election Analysis" (D. McCloskey); and (6) "The Bottle Bill: A Case Study in Political Behavior". Issue No. 3 examines: (1) "New Haunts for Old Ideas: Antifederalism Today" (T. Warren); (2) "Virginia's Finances: The Budget Process"; (3) "Career Corner: Behind the Scenes at the General Assembly"; and (4) "Perspectives on Power: Pacs, Pull, and Public Policy". Issue No. 4 features: (1) "The Future of State and Local Government"; (2) "Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act: What Does It Mean for Virginia?"; (3) "Planning in Virginia: What Kind of Communities Do We Want?"; (4) "Learning By Doing/Learning By Caring: The United Way Human Services Project"; and (5) "Local Taxation in Virginia: An Overview" (A. Spengler). Pictures are included. (JHP)

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THE QUARTERLY:

A NEWSLETTER TO UPDATE RESOURCES FOR TEACHING VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT

VOL. 1

No. 1 - September, 1985
No. 2 - December, 1985
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No. 4 - May, 1986

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Teacher Resource Service
Institute of Government, Minor Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottsville, Virginia 22903

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September, 1985 Vol. 1, no. 1

THE QUARTERLY

A Newsletter to Update Resources for Teaching Virginia Government

WELCOME TO *THE QUARTERLY*! YOU'LL FIND

- a newsletter to supplement the notebook *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*
- a source of ideas, strategies and materials for government teachers and their students

WHAT'S IN THIS ISSUE?

- The Gubernatorial Tenure Debate
- The Robb Years: An Interview with Larry Sabato
- Elections 1985
- Sheriffs and Corrections: Special Feature including:
  - — personal interview with a county sheriff
  - — an editorial view on Virginia's jail problems
  - — suggested activities and resources on corrections
- Career Corner: Law Enforcement
- Trivia/ginia
- General Resources & Upcoming Events
- Teacher Resource Service: Introducing the Fellow in Virginia Government and the Advisory Committee
- Notice about applying for 1986-87 Virginia Government fellowship
- It's Your Turn—a survey on future *Quarterly* issues

HOW DO I USE IT?

- clip articles for bulletin boards
- photocopy stories and activities; there is no copyright!
- adapt activities to your class needs
- use articles as source materials
- send ideas and suggestions; this is *your* newsletter!
- alert guidance counselors to career materials

WHAT IS THE TEACHER RESOURCE SERVICE?

- a clearinghouse of information for government teachers
- a source of materials on state and local government
- a service that provides workshops and inservice programs for teachers

WHAT IS THE NOTEBOOK?

- *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government* is a loose-leaf binder of information and lessons on Virginia government.
- References to the notebook in the newsletter indicate that more information is found in a particular section or page.

WHERE CAN I GET A NOTEBOOK?

- Each government teacher should have received one last spring.
- Contact your local social studies supervisor or Dr. Thomas Elliott, Associate Director, Social Studies Service, Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216 for a copy.

WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ON VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT?

- contact the Teacher Resource Service at the Institute of Government.
- fill in and return the form at the end of this newsletter

HOW IS IT FUNDED?

- The General Assembly provided funding for the '85-'86 school year.

THE GUBERNATORIAL TENURE DEBATE

Under the Virginia Constitution, the Governor is limited to a single four-year term although he/she may be elected to another term after an interval out of office. Only three other states limit the governor to a single four-year term. It has been suggested that the governor's term be increased to six years; alternatively, two consecutive four-year terms might be allowed. Consider the arguments:

Pro:

1. The governor can be free of party pressure.
2. The governor's ambition for power is curbed.
3. The governor is not tempted to use the powers of the office, especially patronage, to achieve renomination and reelection.
4. The governor is able to devote full-time to the duties of the office instead of having to work for reelection.
5. A limitation ensures a constant infusion of new leadership.

Con:

1. The possibility of reelection provides the governor with a powerful incentive to administer the office in the public interest.
2. An executive who is unable to run for reelection becomes an immediate lame duck and is unable to excercise fully the powers of the office.
3. The power of the executive can be curbed by placing a limit on the number of consecutive terms.
4. The governor's office is inherently subject to political pressures regardless of the number of terms; therefore, the argument that a single term lessens political pressures is not valid.
5. The public can benefit from the experience an effective governor has gained while in office.
6. The electorate, in democratic practice, is capable of deciding whether a governor merits reelection.

THE ROBB YEARS:

An Interview with Larry Sabato

Larry Sabato is an associate professor of government at the University of Virginia, a well-known political analyst and author of several books, including Goodbye to Goodtime Charlie: The American Governorship Transformed. *We asked him, in a taped interview, to evaluate the work of the Robb administration.*

On The Accomplishments...

Governor Robb has been a good governor; he has earned his highest marks as a futurist and a planner. I think that, as a young governor, he was especially attuned to Virginia's role for the next 25 or 50 years. And, his major accomplishments fall within the area of future planning.For example, he set up the Commission on Virginia's Future. It's a great thing for a state to bring some of its finest minds together and think about the future.

He was personally involved in the planning for the Center for Innovative Technology in Northern Virginia. Even though the fruits of that won't be seen for some time, the payoff will be tremendous.

He has supported full funding for the Standards of Learning at the primary and secondary levels—again, education is an investment in the future.

His fourth major accomplishment is a broader representation of Virginians in public office. Although there were some appointments of blacks and women to positions of responsibility by other administrations, Robb has appointed a higher percentage of blacks and women than ever before. This is certainly symbolic to young people.

Finally, I think that the image Robb projects—the cleancut vigor and energy—is a useful image.

There have been disappointments, though. If we review the various roles a governor has to play, his greatest failure is in the role of party leader. For example, he had the power and authority to attract strong Senate candidates in '82 and '84. Last year, he got a very weak candidate (Edythe Harrison), and the Republican candidate (John Warner) got the largest majority in history for a Republican candidate.

In his speeches around the country, he preaches centrism, moderation and the nomination of realistic slates, but he has not built a strong Democratic party in Virginia; he has not transferred his own popularity to his party and built on the opportunities handed to him in 1981.

However, he has been able restore some vibrancy to the Democratic party by appointing hundreds of Democrats to various boards and commissions; this helps to keep the troops in the localities loyal and dedicated.

On the Corrections System...

The criticism over the problems in the corrections system has been accurate—there has been overcrowding and escapes. Robb may be receiving the fallout of a number of problems that accumulated over the years, but "the buck stops there" and the govornor is responsible for whatever happens during his administration.

The state has clearly not done enough and has tried to sweep a number of prison-related problems under the rug. But prisons are not a popular thing—legislators don't like to spend money on them, and people don't give them a high priority.

On The Political Spectrum...

Governor Robb is tough to categorize because he is not ideological and not all that partisan. He is definitely not a liberal, although you might say the liberal Robb is demonstrated by his appointment of blacks and women to offices; but that is almost a '60s type of liberalism. Although he can claim to be fiscally conservative, that is part of the Virginia tradition; it is a stance that must be adopted by any successful candidate. He is conservative by nature—meticulous, controlled, a very careful and cautious individual. You might call him a technocrat; he views political problems in a pragmatic and mechanistic manner. He is just the opposite of his father-in-law, Lyndon Johnson, who saw politics as being about people who could be pushed, cajoled, and manipulated.

On Gubernatorial Tenure...

I think the time is long past to allow the governor to serve more than one term. Forty-six states now allow it; the current system in Virginia doesn't make any sense because it doesn't allow the governor to build up any leadership. This could potentially hurt Robb's chances for national office; there is no place for an ex-governor.

On The Future...

Robb has a number of possibilities. He could run for the [illegible]te in 1988; he is the only Democrat who could beat Paul Trible. Because it will be a presidential year, any Democrat will have to swim upstream to beat him. He could run for governor again in 1989 as Mills Godwin did; if the new amendment were passed, it could possibly make him the only three-term governor in Virginia's history. He is a dark horse for the vice-presidential nomination in 1988. And, finally, he could retire from the public spotlight and return to a private law practice.

TRIVIA/GINIA

Did You Know That...

- ... the largest private employer in Virginia is Newport News Drydock and Shipbuilding with a workforce of over 30,000?
- ... the state government employs over 100,000 people?
- ... a year in an Ivy League University costs an average of $16,245, and a year in Fairfax County Detention Center costs an average of $17,520?
- ... the sale of term papers, theses, and dissertations (for which another will receive credit) is illegal in Virginia?
- ... Virginia has more than 400 public and private campgrounds?
- ... the nation's first "test-tube" baby was conceived at the Eastern Virginia Medical School in Norfolk in 1981?
- ... both Campbell County and Lancaster County experienced a 1.4% decline in teacher salaries for the 1983-84 school year?
- ... Virginia has development and trade offices in Brussels and Tokyo?
- ... Alexandria housed the "most eminent slave trading firm in the south" from 1828 until 1836?
- ... Fairfax County Public Schools is the largest public em[illegible]yer after the state?
- ... federal civilian employment in the state averaged 164,000 in 1984?
- ... Virginia ranks third among the state in pounds of finfish and shellfish landed with 751 million pounds?
- ... the Port of Hampton Roads traditionally leads all other ports in the nation in volume of exports and ranks second in total foreign trade tonnage?
- ... Virginia has the world's largest hot dog production plant?

ELECTION PREVIEW 1985

AN ELECTION UNIT TO MEET STANDARDS OF LEARNING OBJECTIVES

12.1 The student will participate in civic activities. Focus will be placed on such activities as voter registration and voting in simulated and/or real elections, communications with public officials, attendance at public meetings, and involvement in civic activities.

12.2 The student will demonstrate a rational approach to social science through the use of decision-making skills. Emphasis is on the development of analytical and critical thinking skills. This includes the ability to identify and clarify issues, to ask appropriate and searching questions, and to analyze and evaluate the consequences of alternate solutions.

Be sure to check Section D, *Citizen Power: Politics and Elections*, in your notebook for ideas and materials. Included are student worksheets on propaganda, candidates and issues, and the campaign process.

VIRGINIA'S PERPETUAL ELECTIONS

Virginia's "perpetual elections" represent a source of irritation to some people and a triumph of grass roots democracy to others.

The annual general elections (not to mention assorted primaries, mass meetings and special elections) are a reflection of the varieties of local government and Virginia's colorful partisan history. For teachers, tackling the subject of elections can be one of the most confusing aspects of local and state government.

In 1985, Virginia will elect a governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and members of the House of Delegates. Cities will elect four constitutional officers—sheriff, commonwealth's attorney, treasurer, and commissioner of revenue. The fifth constitutional officer, the clerk of the court, is elected for an eight-year term and will be up for re-election in 1987.

Review Section D of the notebook for more information on politics and elections.

ACTIVITIES

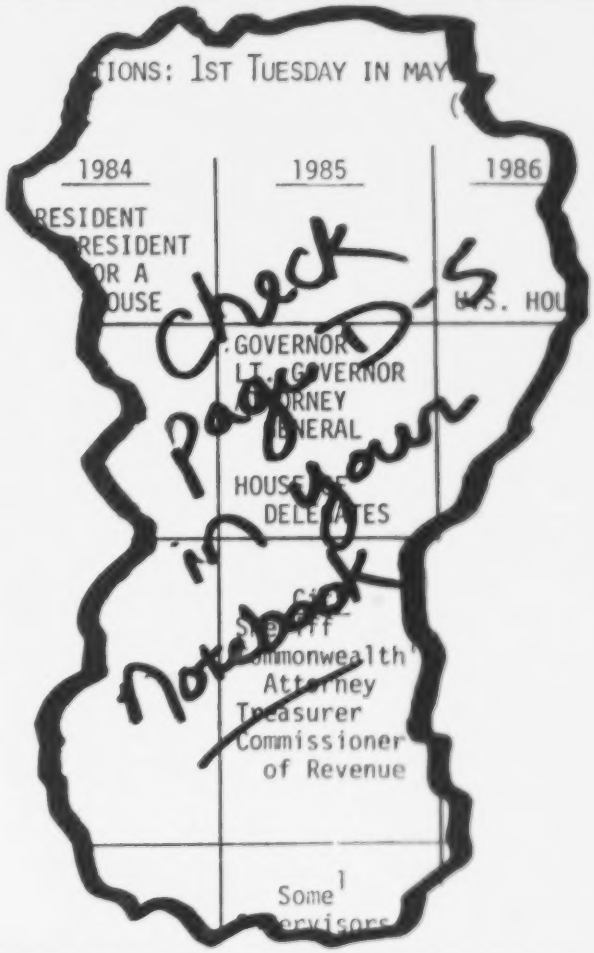
RESEARCH election procedure in other states, especially those which use the "long ballot."

OBTAIN statistical information from your local board of elections and chart modern voting trends for your area.

ELECTION REMINDERS

If you are not a registered voter, the deadline is Saturday, October 5, at 5 p.m. From now until then, the registrars' offices in all 136 localities will be open five days a week. Since the days and hours of operation may differ for each locality, contact your local registrar's office or call the State Board of Elections' toll-free number, 1-800-552-9745 for this or any additional information about registration requirements. Remember, in Virginia, 17 year-olds may vote. (See page D-3 in the notebook for details!)

For information on all aspects of elections, contact the Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463.



WHAT IS YOUR POLITICAL ADDRESS?

Precinct _____

Ward/District _____

Town/County/City _____

Local form of government _____

U.S. Congressional District _____

U.S. Congressional Representative _____

U.S. Senators _____

Virginia Delegate District _____

Virginia Delegate _____

Virginia Senatorial District _____

Virginia Senator _____

(An idea from Barbara Schudel)

THE SHERIFFS: TRADITION AND REALITY

An Interview with Sheriff M. Wayne Huggins

In August, the sheriffs of Virginia met in Charlottesville for a three-day conference. Agenda topics included such varied issues as missing children, mental health in local jails, and training for staff. We had the opportunity to talk with many sheriffs about their work; Sheriff M. Wayne Huggins of Fairfax County provided these thoughts during a taped interview.

The Job...

In Virginia, a sheriff has four basic duties—general law enforcement, civil process, court security and corrections. Not all sheriffs have all four of these jobs. But over 80% of them are "full- service sheriffs" or have the first three duties but do not operate jails. Some of the larger counties and most cities have a police force that is responsible for general law enforcement, and the sheriff's department takes care of the other three duties. That is the position I'm in.

Fairfax is the largest county sheriff's department, with over 300 deputies; however, the City of Richmond has about the same number.

I was elected to this job after serving as a state trooper for eight years. I had been president of the State Police Association for three years and had gained other types of experience; I had the opportunity to work with the General Assembly and enjoyed being involved in politics. Running for sheriff gave me the chance to combine the two things I liked the most—law enforcement and politics. The sheriff's job pays well too, and, like other folks, I have a family to support and a mortgage to pay.

Other sheriffs come by a different route. Most have previous law enforcement experience; for example, Andy Winston in Richmond was a magistrate for 25 years, and W.C. Andrews of Surry had been a deputy for 13 years before running for sheriff. In recent years, more deputies and sheriffs have had formal training in college or a community college.

Most of the sheriffs in Virginia are Democrats; I happen to be a Republican. Many people would consider the office to be basically non-partisan.

The Problems...

Overcrowding in local jails has been a problem for some time. I sued the Commonwealth in 1981 over the same issue. There are lots of reasons why. First, Virginia's population is increasing, especially in the "prime crime age" group, the 18 to 25 year-olds. With so much industrial and business development in Virginia, both blue-collar and white-collar crime are increasing. As the general population increases, it is reasonable to expect that a certain percentage of the population will be criminals. Another reason is the legislature and the citizens of Virginia. Citizens are more conservative now; ten years ago, we were into "social rehabilitation" and alternative sentencing. While we still have those, I think rehabilitation doesn't work; 75% of the people who go to jail have been there before. Now citizens are saying they want tougher penalties for chronic criminals, mandatory penalties for many crimes, jail sentences for drunk drivers and so on. There is a "get tough" policy among judges because people have had enough. And all this has caused the overcrowding in jails.

When an accused person is sent to jail, it is the sheriff's job to put him in jail; when he is "state-ready," it is the Department of Corrections' duty to take him. The Department doesn't want to overload the state penitentiaries, so the local jails are forced to keep inmates who should be sent to the state.

Virginia has been remiss in the way it's handled the prison situation. Three new facilities have been built in recent years but, at the same time, old ones are being closed. We've built *new* beds but we haven't built *additional* ones; and given the stats from the last few years, I figure we'll need an additional 5000 beds by 1990. The major problem is that corrections is not a popular or high-priority issue. Other causes have special interest groups to raise the banner for them; but corrections doesn't have a constituency other than the inmates in jail, and they are not what you'd call "civic activists."

We hope that relief is on the way; Governor Robb allocated money for 300 extra beds in June and for 500 extra beds in August that could go a long way in solving our problems; but as of July 30 this year "state-ready" inmates were being retained in local jails. The Robb plan has identified the eight "most crowded" jails; 50 inmates will be transferred each week for ten weeks to reach the 500 goal. While it is a statewide problem, it also seems to be largely an urban problem; Richmond has about 225 prisoners awaiting state custody, and other urban areas like Portsmouth and Norfolk have serious backups.

The overwhelming majority of people in jail are alcohol abusers. We've done three surveys and found that 68% of the people were on alcohol, about 18% were on drugs, and about 10% were on both at the time the crime was committed. We have seen a significant trend toward alcohol and away from drugs, but the end result is the same. A number of inmates also have mental health problems.

Crime is a young man's occupation. 85% of our inmates are under age 30 and, of those, 50% are under 25; and 30% of those are ages 16-20. Felonies account for 85% of those held.

The Future...

We hope that relief is coming; this year will be a hard one for sheriffs in the General Assembly. Money needs to be appropriated for building new facilities. The public needs to know how serious the situation is and what future needs will be.

Activities

INVESTIGATE your local sheriff's/police department; compare the job, the problems and the duties of your sheriff to those outlined by Sheriff Huggins.

VISIT your local jail or correctional facility. Find out about the variety of correctional programs for both adults and juveniles.

DIAGRAM AND RESEARCH the criminal and civil process in greater detail based on the model.

DISCUSS the questions raised by Sheriff Huggins and the editorial; using some of the resources listed, find out more about corrections systems.

RECORD AND REPORT ON the candidates' statements on the issues.

INVESTIGATE community programs for offenders and their families.

READ AND REVIEW chapter four in *By the Good People of Virginia.... Our Commonwealth's Government* by Paul C. Cline and Daniel B. Fleming.

FIND OUT more about the historical and contemporary sheriff's office by reading the two *University of Virginia News Letters* on the subject in Section C of *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government.*

VIRGINIA'S JAIL PROBLEMS: ANOTHER VIEW

The following editorial appeared in the August 18, 1985 issue of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* and is reprinted here with permission.

Virginia has a problem cooking in its local jails. With temperatures hovering in the 90-100-degree range and prisoners packed to the gills (even splayed out on the floor to sleep), conditions could not be better for unrest. A longtime sheriff surveyed the scene last week and concluded, "It's a bomb with the fuse lit."

Norfolk's jail has a certified capacity of 347 prisoners; there are, in fact, 529 beds in the facility. Last Sunday, Aug. 11, 650 prisoners were within the wall of Norfolk's jail — an all-time record. Without a bed, a prisoner gets a mattress and an invitation to lie down. One hundred twenty-one people sleep on the floor.

In Portsmouth and Chesapeake, the situation varies only in scale. Portsmouth Sheriff Gary Waters has a jail that was built in 1969 to house 197 people. Last Wednesday Mr. Waters had 265 prisoners. Thirty-nine got a mattress and the floor. The Chesapeake jail has been overcrowded most of the past five years. It's not getting any better. Thirty-five were on the floor there last week.

On a given evening across Virginia, from 500 to 600 inmates may be sleeping on the floors of Virginia's jails.

A substantial number of the people held in local jails should by law be in the state prison system. These are people who have violated state laws. Far too many of them are being held in local jails. The Virginia Sheriffs Association says that 1784 state inmates were backed up in local jails on July 30.

The sheriffs say, "Look, we've done all we can. Give us some help."

The state prison administration replies it has done everything possible to make more room in the state system but is already housing more than 600 prisoners above capacity.

The sheriffs say, "But, look, the state prisons have more than 500 empty beds."

The prison administration says, yes, but those beds are designed for the sick or mentally ill, the isolated incorrigibles, or those on death row. The Virginia system will not mix the general prison population with special cases.

Back and forth the arguments go. There's not a lot new in the debate. And when the State Board of Corrections met last Wednesday, chairman John W. Williams drew the obvious — and absolutely correct — conclusion. "We need more prisons and the price for them will not be insignificant," he said.

The administration of Republican John Dalton secured appropriations sufficient to build new prisons. The Democratic Robb administration has not; rather, it has emphasized alternatives to incarceration, such as the Community Diversion Incentive Program (CID).

In fact, the CID — which diverts nonviolent offenders from jail into community programs — has succeeded, but it, too, needs more money.

Virginians like to put people in jail, and keep them there. Virginia's rate of incarceration in 1982 was higher than that of 36 other states. In fiscal year 1981-82, 41 percent of those sent to the state's prisons were committed for crimes against property not involving violence. Virginia ranks No. 2 nationally in both average length of sentence and average length of stay behind bars.

In the long run, greater state expenditures on corrections cannot be avoided. But, what about the immediate problem? The local jails need relief now.

The Robb administration may respond by opening a new prison facility in Augusta County earlier than planned. More double-bunking in other prisons will be used and some closed facilities reopened.

If the Robb administration does not act, it will likely be forced to. Last week a Circuit Court judge, who presides in an urban area with serious jail overcrowding, observed that federal court decisions weigh against just the sort of conditions that now exist in Virginia's local jails. He fears a federal lawsuit and says, "It's a Virginia problem and Virginia ought to solve it."

The judge's logic is unassailable.

CITIZEN POWER AND THE OFFICE OF THE SHERIFF

Because the office of sheriff is a holdover from the traditional English office, the sheriffs function independently of other locally elected officials. Although sheriffs provide services to a specific city or county, they are constitutional officers of the Commonwealth. This duality has caused conflicts in recent years between the sheriffs and local officials such as a board of supervisors or city council. Recently, Governor Robb signed a bill that requires a referendum before a local unit of government can abolish any of the five consititutional offices, including sheriff. Before the referendum may be held, a petition must be signed by registered voters equal in number to 20% of those voting in the last presidential election.

WHY IS THE SYSTEM BACKED UP?

Arrest

↓

Charges are placed

↓

Bail is set by magistrate or judge

many persons arrested cannot afford bail from their own funds or are unable to hire a bondsman.

↓

Arraignment

most defendants will plead "not guilty" at this stage and must be held awaiting trial.

↓

Trial date is set

because there are more arrests for both misdemeanors and felonies, there is a backlog of people awaiting trial.

↓

Trial

if a defendant is found not guilty, the judge will want to review a pre-sentencing report before setting final sentence.

↓

Sentencing date is set

the defendant stays in a local jail awaiting final sentencing.

↓

Sentencing

after the defendant receives final sentencing, he/she becomes "state-ready" and it is then the state's duty to take over incarceration.

↓

State penitentiary

CAREER CORNER: *Law Enforcement*

According to *Career Opportunities News*, two types of American institutions have reported tremendous growth since World War II—universities and the criminal justice system. An increase in employment in the criminal justice field is predicted at all levels—federal, state, local and private; there are 40,000 police forces at the state and local level alone! Therefore, a high school student can consider law enforcement as a open and diverse career field.

Some Ideas:

Federal
U.S. marshall
border patrol agent
special agent for IRS
postal inspector
customs officer
federal protective officer
Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms inspector

State and Local
sheriff/deputy
courtroom bailiff
evidence technician
fish and game warden
corrections officer
port police
state park ranger
animal treatment investigator

Private
airline security representative
house officer (hotels, buildings, etc.)
armored car driver
bodyguard
ski patroller

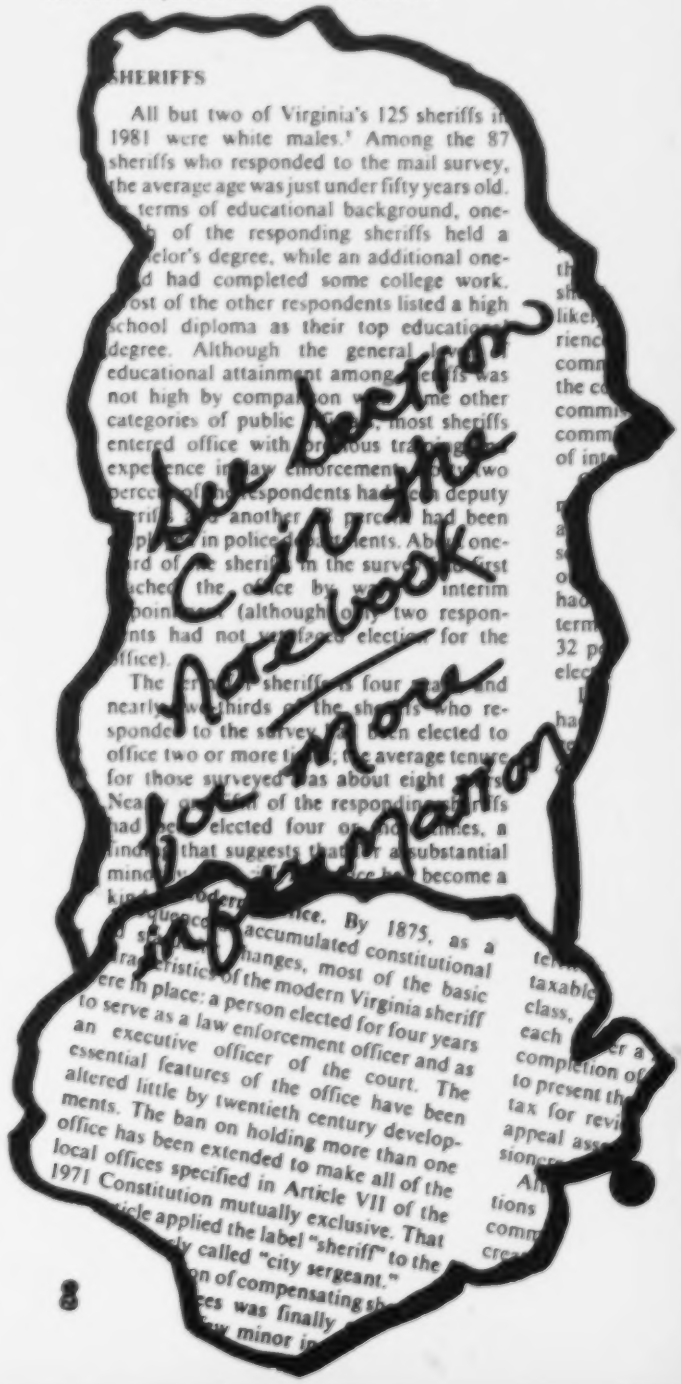
Most of these jobs require a high school diploma; many of these careers require specialized training. Most of the community colleges in Virginia have certification or degree programs in criminal justice and law enforcement.

Meet Alonzo Howell...

Alonzo Howell became a deputy sheriff in Surry County in July, 1985. He is 22 years old (the minimum age is 21). Several aspects of the career were attractive to him—he could help people in a positive way; he could remain in his hometown and feel confident about working with local people; and he could build on his previous law enforcement experience. Alonzo is a member of the Virginia Army National Guard and has worked for the Gwaltney Company as a security guard. He will begin a twelve-week field training course at the police academy in Chester in September, although he has taken some courses in law enforcement at Thomas Nelson Community College. Already he has been performing routine sheriff's duties such as serving subpoenas and other court papers.

DID YOU KNOW THAT...

- —Virginia has 10,575 police officers?
- —40% of those are part of city or town police forces?
- —eight counties have police forces in addition to the sheriff's department?
- —in most Virginia counties, state police are responsible for traffic safety, including the interstate system?
- —35 of the 41 cities in Virginia have both police and sheriffs?
- —sheriffs are constitutional officers elected to four-year terms?
- —Virginia has no women sheriffs?
- —Virginia has two black sheriffs, James H. Bowman of Charles City and David Mapp of Norfolk?
- —the state reimburses each locality for the salary paid to the sheriff?


SHERIFFS
All but two of Virginia's 125 sheriffs in 1981 were white males.[1] Among the 87 sheriffs who responded to the mail survey, the average age was just under fifty years old.
terms of educational background, one-
of the responding sheriffs held a
elor's degree, while an additional one-
had completed some college work.
ost of the other respondents listed a high school diploma as their top educational
degree. Although the general level of
educational attainment among sheriffs was not high by comparison with some other categories of public officials, most sheriffs entered office with previous training or experience in law enforcement. Only two percent of the respondents had been deputy sheriffs for another 31 percent had been employed in police departments. About one-third of the sheriffs in the survey first reached the office by way of interim appointment (although only two respondents had not previously faced election for the office).
The average sheriff's four years and nearly two-thirds of the sheriffs who responded to the survey had been elected to office two or more times; the average tenure for those surveyed was about eight years. Nearly one-fifth of the responding sheriffs had been elected four or more times, a finding that suggests that for a substantial minority the office has become a
ice. By 1875, as a
accumulated constitutional
anges, most of the basic
characteristics of the modern Virginia sheriff
ere in place: a person elected for four years
to serve as a law enforcement officer and as
an executive officer of the court. The
essential features of the office have been
altered little by twentieth century develop-
ments. The ban on holding more than one
office has been extended to make all of the
local offices specified in Article VII of the
1971 Constitution mutually exclusive. That
rticle applied the label "sheriff" to the
ly called "city sergeant."
on of compensating sh
es was finally
minor in
Use better Caution the Handbook for more information

INTRODUCING THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Committee meets several times a year to review materials, offer suggestions, plan for future ventures and select the Fellow in Virginia Government.

Patricia Bell
Waynesboro High School
Waynesboro

Jamie Brown
Virginia Consortium of Social Studies Supervisors and College Educators
Albemarle County

The Honorable James H. Dillard II
House of Delegates
Fairfax County

Dr. John A. Eberhart
Assistant Superintendent for Instruction
Charlottesville

Charles R. (Rod) Clemmons
Virginia Studies Committee
Fairfax County

Dr. Thomas M. Garton
Instructional Specialist
Virginia Beach

Helen B. (Sandy) Smoak
Institute of Government
Charlottesville

Dr. Jerry Moore
Department of Curriculum, Instruction and Special Education
University of Virginia

James C. Page
Department of Education Regional Office
Radford

K. Diane Price
Charlottesville High School
Charlottesville

The Honorable Mitchell Van Yahres
House of Delegates
Charlottesville

Resources and Reminders

CAREER RESOURCES

Occupational Outlook Handbook, *Occupational Outlook Quarterly*, and *Criminal Justice Careers Guidebook*, all published by the U.S. Department of Labor and available through the Government Printing Office, North Capitol and H Sts., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20402.

Virginia VIEW, a survey of careers and job information for Virginians

All the above sources are generally found in school or community libraries.

Career Opportunities News (a newsletter)
Garrett Park Press
Garrett Park, Maryland 20896

Virginia State Sheriffs' Association
John. W. Jones, Executive Director
9413 Hull Street Road, Suite D
Richmond, Virginia 23236

Mr. James Skeen
Personnel Officer for Recruitment
Department of Corrections
4615 W. Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23261

RESOURCES ON CORRECTIONS

The 1983 General Assembly directed the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission (JLARC) to conduct a series of studies dealing with the state correctional system. These studies are available from JLARC, 910 Capitol Street, Suite 1100, Richmond, Virginia 23219; (804) 786-1258.

More copies of the final statement of the *Virginia Assembly on the Role of Adult Corrections Within the Virginia Criminal Justice System* are available from the Teacher Resource Service of the Institute of Government.

Public Information Office of the Department of Corrections, P.O. Box 26963, Richmond, Virginia 23261; (804) 257-6288.

Offender Aid and Restoration, 6 N. Laurel Street, Richmond, VA 23220

Department of Criminal Justice Services, 805 E. Broad Street, Richmond, VA 23219.

GENERAL RESOURCES

- The United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary this year; U.N. Day is October 24, 1985. For information and publications, contact the Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017.
- *The Report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future* is available in your local or school library or from the Institute of Government.
- To encourage public discussion of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom during its bicentennial year, the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy is sponsoring a Speaker's Bureau through December, 1985. For information, contact the Foundation's Resource Center at 1939 Ivy Road, Charlottesville, VA 22903; (804) 924-3296.
- The Virginia Council for the Social Studies will meet in Charlottesville at the Radisson Hotel on October 18-19, 1985. Contact Dr. Thomas Elliott, Associate Director, Social Studies Service, Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216 for information and proposal application forms.
- The National Council for the Social Studies will meet at the Chicago Hyatt Regency on November 22-26, 1985. Contact Peter Stavros, NCSS, 3501 Newark Street, Washington, D.C. 20016.
- *Lessons on the Constitution*, a series of supplementary materials to accompany government texts, is now available for $19.50 from the Social Science Consortium, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.
- The League of Women Voters has produced a 16-page teacher's guide to accompany its book, *Your Virginia State Government*. The cost of the guide is $1.00 or free with orders of 25 or more of the book. The book is $3.00 a copy. Contact Kay Greenwood, Publications Distribution Chair, Rt. 4, Box 291-B, Trent Ferry Road, Lynchburg, VA 24503.

COMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE

- Bottle Bill
- PACs and Lobbies
- Election Review
- Legislative Preview

INTRODUCING THE FELLOW IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT ...

The Institute of Government and the Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia are pleased to announce the appointment of the first Fellow in Virginia Government, Melanie J. Biermann, a classroom teacher of government and world civilization in the Fairfax County Schools. Ms. Biermann will coordinate the Teacher Resource Service at the Institute of Government for the 1985-86 school year, working with a statewide advisory committee that includes social studies supervisors, scholars and officials.

Ms. Biermann is a native Virginian and a graduate of Lynchburg College. She received a Masters degree in the classics from the University of Colorado and has done additional graduate work at the University of Virginia and George Washington University. During her eleven years with the Fairfax County Schools, she has conducted workshops for teachers, designed a self-guided tour of the Hall of Western Civilization for the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History, tested and evaluated educational materials for the World Bank, presented professional papers on state and local government, written a weekly news column for the Alexandria Port Packet, and served in managerial positions in several local political campaigns. Her classes have researched and lobbied for legislation in the General Assembly.

DO YOU KNOW AN OUTSTANDING GOVERNMENT TEACHER WHO WOULD LIKE TO BE THE FELLOW IN VIRGINIA GOVERNMENT NEXT YEAR?

- Spend a year (July 15, 1986-June 1, 1987) at the University of Virginia's Institute of Government researching, writing, and visiting state and local government offices and the General Assembly; be a serious and perceptive student of the realities of Virginia politics and government.
- Design and develop materials to help government teachers meet the objectives of the Standards of Learning; teach more state and local government with more student participation in the class and community.
- Edit volume 2 of this newsletter; update pages for the notebook *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*; prepare other materials indicated by the statewide Advisory Committee of social studies supervisors, scholars, and officials; conduct inservice and conference programs; and respond to requests from teachers for specific Virginia government information.
- Receive support services from the Institute of Government.
- Earn six academic credits.
- Receive a stipend that will cover expenses and, in most cases, approximate current salary.

APPLICATION CHALLENGE: All applicants will submit materials that can be used to meet Standards of Learning Objectives. The deadline for submission of all materials will be January 15, 1986. Contact the Teacher Resource Service for more details and application guidelines. Teacher Resource Service, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903 (804) 924-0955

IT'S YOUR TURN!

Since this is the first issue of *The Quarterly*, we are most eager to incorporate your ideas in future copies. If you complete this survey and mail it back to us before November 1, we will send you a colorful classroom poster, "The Constitution and the Commonwealth: The Virginia Court Days Forums."

CHECK *THREE* TOPICS YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE DISCUSSED IN *THE QUARTERLY*:

____ Virginia's agriculture
____ Virginia and foreign trade
____ Virginia's environment
____ Constitutions
____ PACs in Virginia
____ Courts and Virginia's legal system
____ State Corporation Commission
____ Social Services
____ Taxes and Revenue
____ Tourism in Virginia
____ Legislative issues such as: _____
____ Other topics: _____

THE WAY THE TEACHER RESOURCE SERVICE CAN HELP ME MOST IS:

____ sending materials
____ sharing activities and ideas
____ listing resources and bibliographies
____ highlighting successful strategies
____ providing in-service workshops in my area
____ other: _____

NAME _____

SCHOOL _____

ADDRESS _____

Please correct address/name and return to Melanie Biermann, Teacher Resource Service, Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

TOWARD A NEW DOMINION

With this charge, Governor Robb set up the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future, urging its 37 members to look beyond the next session of the General Assembly or the next budget cycle to determine the long-range problems, needs, and challenges for the Commonwealth. Realizing that Virginians have a rich heritage, the Commission members set about making suggestions to preserve it and, at the same time, to deal with a rapidly changing world. The final report was an effort "to define a vision of Virginia in the year 2000 and to suggest strategies that will help command a future of our ancestors' achievements and our children's hopes."

The Commission members included present and former legislators, business executives, economists, community leaders, and specialists in many fields. Two years were spent in preparation of the report. Five task forces assembled testimony emphasizing subjects that would make a significant difference by the year 2000. Several themes emerged throughout the report:

1. Equal opportunity in employment, housing, education, and political participation is a fundamental right for all Virginians, regardless of the past history of race relations.
2. Common deficiences in the operation of state government result in institutional weakness, inadequate information for policy-making, and insufficient attention to long-range planning.
3. Several major structural changes are needed, including the creation of two separate cabinet positions for economic development and the environment.
4. Fundamental reform is necessary in Virginia's local government structure.

The Commission summed up its findings by noting that, "Virginia's history entitles us to hope that greatness may be the legacy this generation of Virginians leaves to its children. Vision and courage are needed if the best of Virginia is to survive and prosper."

We must first define a vision of what we want Virginia to be, and then ask ourselves, 'What must we do to achieve it?'
Governor Charles S. Robb

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Virginia should formulate and implement an economic development strategy.
- Virginia should emphasize expansion of industries already located in the state and services to small business.
- A cabinet post, the Secretary of Economic Development, should be created.
- The state's economic development strategy should link educational institutions and training programs with the employment needs of the private sector.

HUMAN RESOURCES

- Private investment in housing should be encouraged.
- The new emphasis on market place factors in providing health care means the state government should be prepared to make major regulatory changes.
- Virginia will need to define its health care responsibilities with greatest precision.

GOVERNMENT AND PLANNING

- The governor should be elected to a six-year term without the right to succeed himself.
- Local government boundaries should be thoroughly reviewed.
- State officials should become more aggressive leaders in promoting regional solutions to regional problems.

EDUCATION

- Education should be the highest priority of the Commonwealth. By the year 2000, Virginia should aspire to a statewide educational system that is among the nation's ten best.
- Virginia should increase spending on education to a level commensurate with its fiscal capacity.
- Virginia should assign a higher priority to training and professional growth for present teachers.
- The governance of public education at all levels should be reexamined and reshaped.

ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES

- Virginia needs a cabinet level post for a Secetary of Natural Resources.
- The state should exert more positive and comprehensive leadership on water resource management, land use, and waste management.
- The Commonwealth should continue to develop a strategy for restoring the Chesapeake Bay in concert with other states, but it needs its own program.

REMINDER

Copies of the *Report of the Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future* are available from the TRS.

Document Resource Service, Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903

LEGISLATIVE PREVIEW: GENERAL ASSEMBLY '86

Although over 2000 bills and resolutions will come before the General Assembly this year, only a few of those will receive public attention and major consideration of the legislators. *The Quarterly* asked several members of the General Assembly to identify what they thought would be the major issues facing the 1986 session.

All the legislators mentioned the **funding of the Standards of Quality** for education as the major budget issue. Governor Baliles, during his campaign, called for "full funding," meaning that the state should pay a greater cost-per-pupil to bring all school districts into compliance with the mandated Standards. Delegate George Beard (R., Culpeper) noted that some localities cut their share of education costs as the state picked up a greater percentage in the last two years. He also felt that the recently released report of the Joint Legislative and Audit Report Commission (JLARC) would push communities, schools boards, tax watchdogs, and educational interest groups into action.

Highway construction and its costs were identified by several legislators. J. Paul Councill, Jr. (D., Franklin) said the problems focus on funding—should there be a statewide bond issue, an increase of the gasoline tax, or both?

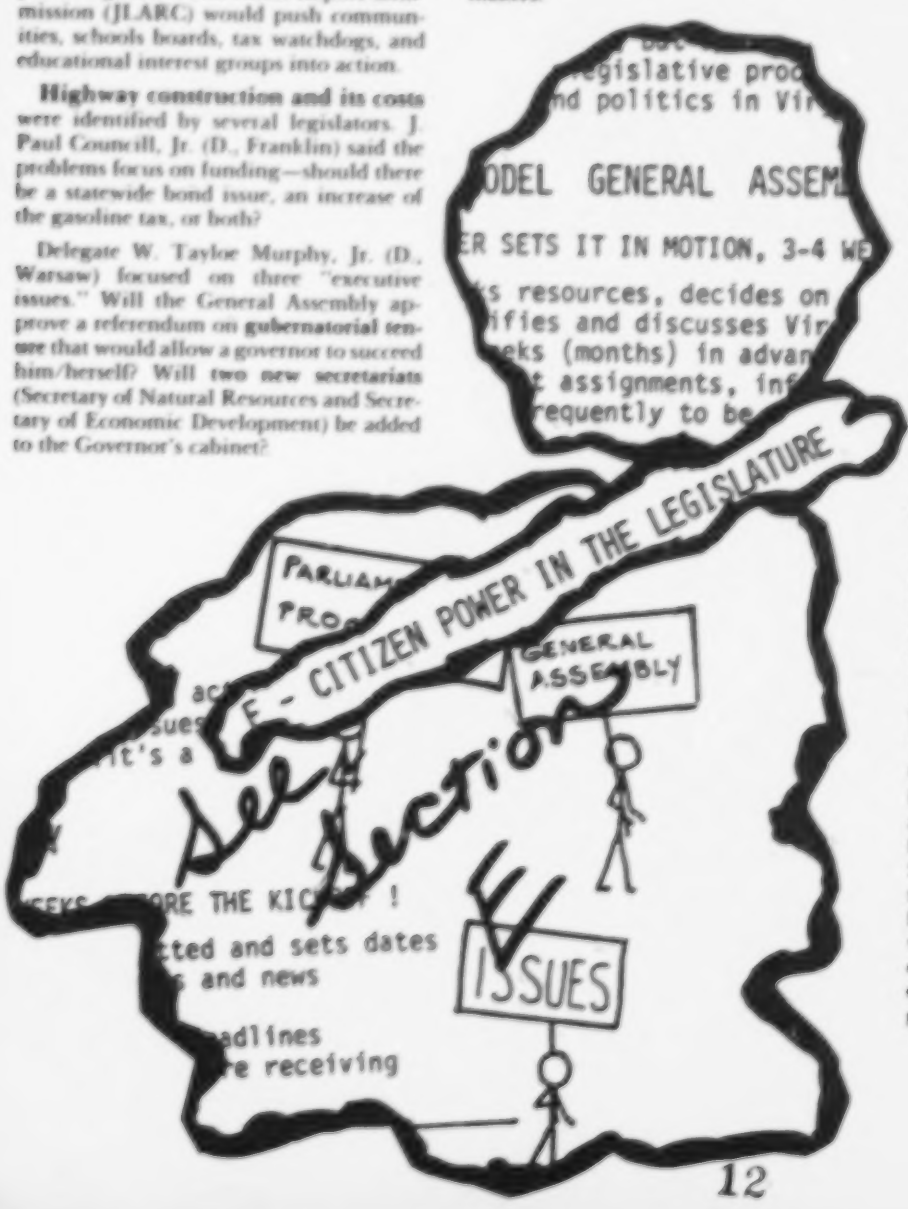
Delegate W. Taylor Murphy, Jr. (D., Warsaw) focused on three "executive issues." Will the General Assembly approve a referendum on **gubernatorial tenure** that would allow a governor to succeed him/herself? Will **two new secretariats** (Secretary of Natural Resources and Secretary of Economic Development) be added to the Governor's cabinet?

Delegate James H. Dillard II (R., Fairfax) voiced concern about **water issues**. He noted that there is a proposal to set up a permit system to control the use of groundwater and surface water and to provide a plan for interbasin transfers of water. He added that the amount and distribution of water has been the subject of a number of studies in recent years and will continue to be a major environmental issue for Virginia.

Two major social issues were identified by Senator Joseph V. Gartlan, Jr. (D., Fairfax). As chairman of the Rehabilitation and Social Services Committee, he is concerned with the **care of the chronically mentally ill** in light of deinstitutionalization efforts in recent years. He also cited the **needs of the Department of Corrections** for additional facilities as a major problem facing this year's budget-makers.

Delegate Mitchell Van Yahres (D., Charlottesville) mentioned two of his own major concerns—**mandatory seat belts** and **hazardous waste**. He feels that preventable injuries in auto accidents extract a huge human and economic toll as the costs of longterm care spiral for victims. He also feels that the Assembly should face up to Virginia's long-term problems with hazardous waste transport and disposal which now pose a major threat to the environment.

Finally, the legislators pointed out two perennial issues: **uranium mining** in Pittsylvania County and a **referendum on a state lottery**. There is some doubt in both cases, though, whether either will be considered in this session because of legislative technicalities.



ACTIVITIES

- Every government teacher should now have a copy of *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*. Please take a few minutes to leaf through it to get acquainted with the many materials and teaching ideas it includes. It's a terrific resource!
- Review Section E in the notebook *Resources for Teaching Virginia Government* for material on the General Assembly.
- Legislative "wish lists" are prepared by local governments ad interest groups. Contact your local favorites for information on the '86 packages.
- Assign committees to follow each of these issues in the paper and though the Teacher Resource Service. The TRS will have background information on each of the issues identified by the legislators (as well as the bottle bill) available for teachers and students. Contact the TRS for these packets.
- Students and teachers can make a difference! Interest groups lobbying for or against proposed legislation can be formed. Students from McLean High School in Fairfax County were part of a successful coalition in 1982 as they lobbied for the Child Seat Restraint Act. That act, which requires the use of seat restraints on children under four years old, saves an estimated twenty children a year in Virginia.

TRIVIA/GINIA

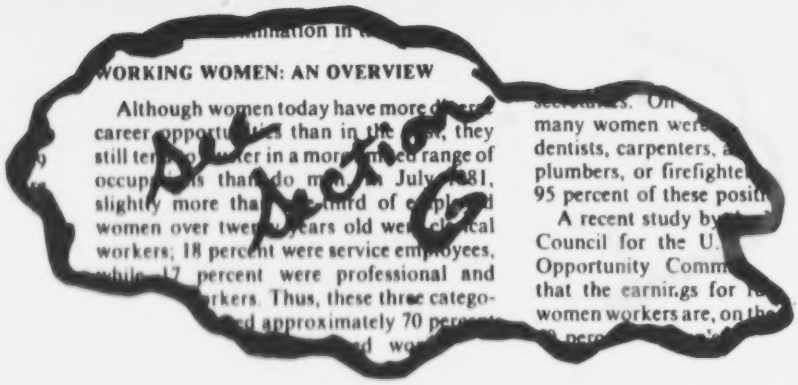
Did you know that by the year 2000,

- 73% of all Virginians will live in urban areas, as compared to 56% in 1960?
- Virginia's "urban crescent" (Washington, D.C./Richmond/Hampton Roads) will experience the greatest growth?
- nonwhites will make up ¼ of Virginia's population?
- women will head 1 of every 4 families, and a disproportionate number of those will live in poverty?
- 9 of 10 workers will be in service and trade industries, such as banks, hospitals, government, and restaurants, rather than manufacturing?
- a majority of families will have no parent at home during the day?
- educational services for adults will be a major concern as education increasingly becomes a lifelong process?
- the proportion of the population that is 19 and under will fall from a 1960 high of 40% to 26%?
- as a result of technology, the structure of schools will change, and teachers will spend more time tutoring and less time instructing entire classes?
- Hispanics will constitute the nation's largest minority group?
- 1 in 9 Virginians will be 65 or older, as compared with 1 in 25 in 1960?

REMINDERS

from the Teacher Resource Service

- Do you know an outstanding government teacher? Application guidelines are now available for the 1986-1987 Fellowship in Virginia Government. Applicants should submit materials that indicate their ability to research and write volume 2 of *The Quarterly*, conduct workshops for teachers, and demonstrate a knowledge of state and local government. The application deadline has been extended to February 1, 1986.
- The Teacher Resource Service was funded this year by a special appropriation from the General Assembly. If you liked this service, please thank your local legislators.
- The TRS is sponsoring a one-day Legislative Seminar for social studies educators in Richmond during the General Assembly Session. This unique workshop will help you increase your knowledge of Virginia government and the political process. Contact the TRS for more information.
- Several of you asked that *The Quarterly* be "punched" so that it could be added to the notebook. Done!



CAREER CORNER

CAREERS OF THE FUTURE

Some career counselors have encouraged students to prepare for two careers—one they would like to pursue and one that is readily marketable. Is this really the best plan? Jim Heilman, of the Tayloe Murphy Institute, an economic research institute at the University of Virginia, serves as project director for the collection of occupational information for the Virginia Employment Commission. From this vantage point, he can evaluate current studies and predict trends. Mr. Heilman offers several guidelines for the career seeker.

First, the person entering the job market should be wary of the claims of futurists. Mr. Heilman notes that many futurists emphasize the "new and emerging careers" (NEOs) and predict sweeping changes in the job market in a short period of time. For example, he disputes the forecasts of futurists Marvin Cetron and Thomas O'Toole, who predict that by 1990, there will be 2.5 million jobs for industrial laser process technicians and 1.5 million jobs for robot production technicians. Mr. Heilman says that although these careers sound "exciting and sexy," the claims of millions of available jobs are exaggerated.

Second, Mr. Heilman urges job seekers to check statistics carefully. He warns that, although the percentage of people employed in some occupations may increase dramatically, absolute numbers really tell the story. For example, Virginia will experience a 61% growth in the number of chiropractors by 1990; however, since there were only 133 chiropractors in 1980, this means only 82 will be added to the work force.

Third, the job seeker should use available resources. Mr. Heilman points out that Virginians have access to the most scientific occupational information in the U.S. through the Virginia Employment Commission. Its reports are based partly on historic trends and partly on predictions of Virgnia's long-term employment trends.

Fourth, while occupational titles may not change that much in the next few years, what a person does in a job may change markedly. For instance, secretarial and general office jobs will continue to demand great numbers of workers; however, secretaries now must be familiar with computers, word processors, and other electronic equipment. Likewise, health care professionals will continue to be in great demand but, as society places an increasing emphasis on "wellness" programs and individual responsibility for health care, the daily tasks of those professionals will change. Food service occupations will also attract thousands of workers in coming years as more singles and families spend a greater portion of the food dollar in restaurants and fast food establishments.

Finally, the job seeker should be aware of what employers value. A recent study by the Tayloe Murphy Institute found that employers are increasingly emphasizing "interpersonal skills." They are looking for people who present themselves positively and can work easily with other people. More jobs today call for team efforts or direct involvement with the public. Employers look for employees who present a confident and skilled business image.

RESOURCES ON FUTURE CAREERS

The *Occupational Outlook Quarterly* is published four times a year by the Occupational Outlook Service, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20212.

"Changing Job Skills in Virginia" by Julia Martin will appear in a *University of Virginia News Letter* in early 1986.

VIRGINIA VOTES 1985

AN ELECTION UNIT TO MEET STANDARDS OF LEARNING OBJECTIVES

TEACHER STRATEGY

WHICH SOLS?

12.2 The student will demonstrate a rational approach to social science through the use of decision-making skills.

12.3 The student will recognize the uniqueness, worth, and dignity of self and others through the use of interpersonal skills. Emphasis will be place upon the student's ability to work effectively with others as a group member....

12.12 The student will demonstrate data-gathering skills. Emphasis will be on locating information from a variety of primary and secondary sources. This also includes the skills to observe, compile, organize, interpret, and evaluate and communicate information both orally and in writing.

WHAT'S THIS ABOUT?

Get an insider's view of the election process! Do your own election analysis! Become a political scientist! Update Larry Sabato's *Virginia Votes 1979-1982*!

Since politics is both an art and a science, why not introduce your students to its scientific aspects? Through this exercise, they can form hypotheses, gather data, analyze results and interpret findings.

WHAT'S THE PLAN?

The "post-mortem" of the 1985 elections can be conducted in a variety of ways. It can be part of a research unit, an introduction to state and local government, or a project coordinated with the January inauguration and opening of the General Assembly.

Garner student interest by inviting speakers into your class or allowing students to plan and conduct interviews. Likely choices might be local campaign managers, local party committee chairs, winning or losing candidates (sometimes the loser is more interesting!), reporters who covered the campaign, or representatives of polling organizations.

WRITE A CHAPTER!

Update *Virginia Votes 1979-1982*. Each social studies department and library (both public and high school) has received a copy of Larry Sabato's "election collection." Spend a few minutes looking over the book, particularly Chapter 3, "The 1981 State Elections." Using it as a model, organize your class into committees to research and produce a *new* Chapter 3 based on the results of the 1985 election.

Or, do a district profile. Analyze the results from your county or congressional district (or another identifiable political region) using criteria similar to that in *Virginia Votes*—demographic information, political preferences, or perceptions about candidate behavior. You can design a poll, survey your area, collect anecdotal information, study election data, interpret your results and put together a profile of your district.

HOW DO I GET THE STUDENTS INVOLVED?

Individual or committee research can be organized according to student interests. "Artists" can produce maps reflecting voting patterns. "Clippers" can review newspaper articles (preferably representing several areas of the state) to find articles about the nominating conventions, pre-election polls, and campaign issues. Students who enjoy puzzles can analyze statistical data obtained from the State Board of Elections. "Election analysts" can interpret results and write up articles on topic areas such as the black vote, the impact of metropolitan areas, or the effect of the floods and rain on voter turnout.

THIS SOUNDS TOO DIFFICULT!

Look again. The sources of information are free and readily available. The project has the potential of attracting students who might normally think that government is a bore; for example, students who have their own computers might want to organize some of the data! You can also enlist the aid of math or science department colleagues and parents. Your librarian can help organize and preserve your findings.

IS THERE A REWARD?

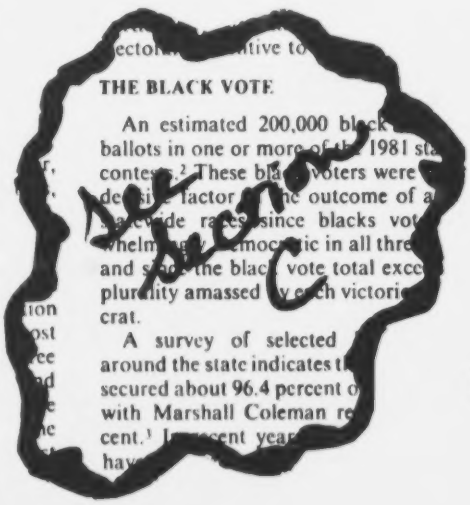
Larry Sabato will be writing another volume of *Virginia Votes*; why not give him a hand? Send your findings to the Teacher Resource Service!

ARE THERE OTHER OPTIONS?

Consider the possibility of conducting your own survey of perceptions and issues. *Dollar Politics* ($9.25) from Congressional Quarterly, Inc. (1414 22nd St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20027) is a good source.

WHAT RESOURCES ARE AVAILABLE?

The major source of information is the official election results from the State Board of Elections. Contact them at 1-800-552-9745 for a copy. Check with your local election board for information as well. Two recent issues of the *University of Virginia News Letter* might also be helpful: "1983 Virginia General Assembly Elections: Stablility for a Change" (February 1984) and "The 1984 Presidential Election in Virginia: A Republican Encore" (February 1985). An excellent bibliography is also includes in *Virginia Votes 1979-1982*. Local newspapers will have back files of information; the research department of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (804) 649-6784, *The Virginian-Pilot* (804) 446-2000, and the Journal Newspapers of Northern Virginia (703) 750-2000 can be especially helpful.



THE BLACK VOTE

An estimated 200,000 black ballots in one or more of the 1981 sta contests.[2] These bla voters were de factor the outcome of a statewide races since blacks vot whelmingly Democratic in all three and the black vote total exce plurality amassed by each victorio crat.

A survey of selected around the state indicates t secured about 96.4 percent o with Marshall Coleman re cent.[3] In recent years hav

ALIGNMENT AND DEALIGNMENT:

AN ELECTION ANALYSIS

by Clifton McCleskey

Mr. McCleskey is a professor of government at the University of Virginia and former director of the Institute of Government. He is the author of numerous articles and books on American political parties and elections.

A Sweep

The Democratic sweep of the three statewide offices in Virginia's 1985 elections repeated the 1981 results, but with interesting and important variations. Attorney General Gerald Baliles won the governorship with 55.2 percent of the vote, a surprisingly large margin in view of the fact that Republicans had won three of the preceding four gubernatorial elections. State Senator Douglas Wilder won the lieutenant governorship with 51.8 percent of the vote, the first black elected to statewide office in the South since Reconstruction. Delegate Mary Sue Terry won the office of attorney general with 61.4 percent of the vote, the first woman ever to win a statewide office in Virginia.

Why?

A full accounting for these surprising victories is not possible, at least here, but three important factors deserve our attention. First is the high quality of the winning candidates, judged in terms of their standing among peers, political experience and skills, intellectual attainments, and organizational abilities. The Republican candidates, though no doubt able men, were widely perceived as not offering the same range of qualifications.

A second important factor is the orientation of the Virginia electorate, one that retains a substantial (albeit diminished) predisposition toward the Democratic party when its candidates are perceived to be within acceptable "ideological" bounds, i.e., neither ultra-liberal nor ultra-conservative.

Finally, I must mention the "Robb factor," meaning not only the considerable assistance that a popular incumbent governor can give in raising campaign funds, providing access to influentials, generating media coverage, and the like, but also—and perhaps more importantly—the benefit accruing to Democratic candidates from the widespread perception of voters that the Robb administration in its four years had been responsible and effective.

Reading the results

Any temptation to read the 1985 outcomes as a massive repudiation of the Republican party and a reassertion of Democratic hegemony in Virginia should be strongly resisted. Despite the failures of its statewide candidates, the Republican party held its own in the General Assembly elections, suffering a net loss of only one seat. What the 1985 elections demonstrate quite clearly is the extent to which Republican fortunes in Virginia state elections are still tied to Democratic misfortunes. In the past, GOP candidates have been most successful when they could exploit factional divisions in the Democratic party.

Thus, Republican Linwood Holton's gubernatorial victory in 1969 owed something to the unhappiness of liberal Democrats chafed by their candidate's loss to a moderate conservative in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. In 1973 and again in 1977, Republican gubernatorial candidates benefited from the support of conservative Democrats alienated by what they perceived as a liberal takeover of that party. The muting of Democratic factionalism in 1985, as in 1981, made wholesale voter defections unlikely, leaving Republican candidates with an uphill struggle due to their party's minority status.

Political leadership

The 1985 elections also testify to the continuing importance of political leadership. Though not highly visible in the role of party leader, Governor Robb undoubtedly contributed in important ways to dampening the fires of Democratic factionalism, as did other leaders on both sides of the liberal-conservative split. Unfortunately for the Republicans, neither of their two top elected officials, U.S. senators Warner and Trible, has been able or willing to play a comparable role, nor has anyone else. The consequences were apparent not only in the disaffections created by the GOP nominations but also in the shortcomings of the Republican campaigns, including failure to make use effectively of past party leaders and public officials.

Virginia is always guaranteed some national attention by the fact that only one other state (New Jersey) holds its elections in the same year, but the 1985 results have drawn more than usual. Some commentators have suggested that the Virginia results demonstrate to the national Democratic party how to fashion a winning formula: Fiscal Responsibility + Social Responsiveness = Democratic Victory. Little doubt exists about the value of that formula for Virginia Democrats in 1985 (and in the preceding four years). Whether the national Democratic party can bring itself to adopt that formula, and can persuade skeptical voters that it has truly done so, is less certain.

Ideology

Another possible implication for the nation from the 1985 Virginia elections involves the salience of "ideology" in voter choices. The Republican ticket was by conscious design a strongly and thoroughly conservative one, and the campaigns of all three candidates relied heavily on appeals to that faith (including frequent invocation of President Reagan's name). The outcomes lend support to either or both of the following propositions: (1) voters paid less attention to the candidates' ideology than to their individual abilities and experience; (2) Virginia voters are less thoroughly conservative than is sometimes believed. If true for Virginia, then in all likelihood either or both is true for the nation as well.

New alignments

Finally, one can look at the Virginia results to see how they bear on the much-discussed issue of party realignment. If one understands that term to mean a substantial and durable shift of voter attachments from one party to another, then the evidence seems clear that the idea of a realignment toward the GOP gets no support from Virginia in 1985. That judgment yields scant comfort for Democrats, however, for it by no means follows that existing party alignments have therefore been stabilized or strengthened. Rather, the 1985 results point toward continuing partisan dealignment, i.e., a growing unwillingness on the part of voters to commit themselves firmly and squarely to either party. In 1985, as in a good many preceding elections, candidates and issues took precedence over party in Virginia.

THE BOTTLE BILL:

TEACHER STRATEGY

A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

A CLASS ACTIVITY

This activity can be used in conjunction with units on political behavior, interest groups, and how a bill becomes law.

Teachers: reproduce the class activity "The Bottle Bill: A Case Study" for class distribution. Begin class with a "brainstorm session." What is the meaning of politics? political behavior? influence? government? List types of political and non-political activities. Review other examples of political behavior the class has studied. Students can read and study the handout in class or as a homework assignment. Consider the follow-up questions in writing, or in individual or group discussion; you may even wish to plan an informal debate. For further research, use the resources listed and encourage students to stay involved in tracking the course of the proposed legislation.

The statements for and against the bottle bill were excerpted from public materials distributed by two special interest groups involved in the issue.

THE ISSUE

Oregon pioneered bottle bill legislation in 1972; nine other states, including Massachusetts, New York, and Michigan, have since enacted similar legislation.

More than two billion beer and soft drink containers are discarded annually in Virginia. The proposed bottle bill, The Beverage Container Re-use and Recycling Bill, calls for a minimum uniform deposit and refund value of not less than 10¢; it is not a tax but a refundable deposit. The retailer or distributor must refund the deposit when presented with an unbroken, empty container. Retailers will keep 20% of the deposit money to cover handling and storage costs.

Senator Madison E. Marye of Shawsville, the chief patron, has introduced the bill in the General Assembly for the past five years.

Study the arguments for and against the proposed bottle bill and prepare the questions at the end for a discussion of political behavior.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

According to the traditional definition, political behavior:

- involves conflict over values, issues, and methods
- requires resources such as time, money, votes, information, power, and skills
- involves the use of influence
- occurs within a system of government and rules
- involves many actors with varied perceptions, resources, and goals

RESOURCES

National Soft Drink Association, 1101 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 463-6740.

Virginians for Returnables, P.O. Box 69, Richmond, VA 23201; (703) 237-0035.

The Congressional Digest, March 1978, Vol. 57, No. 3 ($2.00), 3231 P St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Environmental Action Foundation, Suite 731, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 833-1845.

GAO report, "States' Experience With Beverage Container Deposit Laws Shows Positive Benefits," (Free) U.S. General Accounting Office, Document Handling and Information Services Facility, P.O. Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20760.

A NOVEL APPROACH

Today, problems ranging from divorce to small claims to nuclear arms are discussed and sometimes resolved through a negotiation or mediation process. The Institute for Environmental Negotiation is a service of the University of Virginia. Its staff members work discreetly, fairly, and effectively with local and state groups to help adversarial parties gain a more complete understanding of each other's positions. In a case like the bottle bill, the Institute would serve as a convenor, and a facilitator for a "policy dialogue." The basic idea is to get proponents and opponents together to discuss interests and issues surrounding the benefits and costs of proposed legislation. In the past, the Institute has worked with the Virginia Toxic Roundtable and the Uranium Task Force.

QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. Who are the primary political actors? Who are the secondary ones? Who are the shadow actors (state agencies, lobbyists, grocers)?

2. What coalitions might be formed?

3. What alliances, connections, and working relationships does each side have to support its position? What interest groups would support each side?

4. The excerpts were taken from public materials distributed by each side. Compare and contrast the statements of each interest group. Which are factual statements? Which are opinions? What "facts" are in conflict? Which studies seem more persuasive?

5. Compare the use of language in each; cite examples of propaganda techniques—bandwagon, loaded words, appeal to patriotism, etc.

6. Where are there grounds for compromise? What trade-offs might each side have to make? How can one side break through to build a "minimum winning coalition"?

7. What benefits or losses would individual legislators incur? Local governments? The governor?

8. Who would enforce the statute? What administrative structures already in place might have an interest?

9. Explain how legislation "burdens a few but affects many."

FOR THE BOTTLE BILL:

VIRGINIANS FOR RETURNABLES

Discarded cans and bottles create a litter problem; Keep Virginia Beautiful, Inc. reports that well over $25 million is spent annually to clean up the state.

Landfills are filling up rapidly; removing beverage cans and bottles from the solid waste stream could help ease the landfill crisis.

The bottle bill will help with energy conservation. The energy in one throwaway could run a 100-watt lightbulb for 20 hours. Now, only one quarter of used aluminum cans comes back for recycling; reclaiming aluminum to make new beverage cans saves more than 95% of the energy investment.

Michigan found that the law was a major benefit to the economy and the environment; roadside litter was reduced by 41%, and there was a net gain of 4,648 jobs in brewing, bottling, distributing, and retailing because of the law.

The U.S. imports 90% of it bauxite, the raw materials for aluminum, yet recycles only 25% of all aluminum can. ALCOA Aluminum says, "We have trouble seeing the national figure going beyond 50% through voluntary recycling. Making all containers returnable through uniform deposits will dramatically increase the percentage of return."

Broken bottles and discarded cans cause more than three-fourths of the estimated 60,000 litter-related injuries that occur in Virginia each year and cost $.5 million in medical bills. In states with bottle bills, officials report that broken glass injuries to pedestrians and bicylists are down as much as 75%.

A deposit law would give people a dollars-and-cents reason to recycle containers. People wouldn't throw dimes in the trash; why should they throw away a can or bottle worth 10¢?

The bottle bill can really help business in the long run; clean highways and parks make for a clean state and, therefore, will attract tourists to the state.

A poll conducted by the Gallup Organization during June 1985 for the Virgina Water Resources Research Center at Virginia Tech found that 75.9% of the respondents who had heard of the propose legislation voiced support for it.

Deposit legislation doesn't destroy jobs; with the significant amount of material generated by the redemption system, independent recycling firms employing unskilled workers will spring up.

Supporters include the League of Women Voters, the Virginia Farm Bureau Federation, Virginia Parks and Recreation Association, the Garden Club of Virginia and the Sierra Club. The bottle bill is the result of a "grass roots effort" on the part of environmentalists, bicyclists, farmers, and people who are concerned about litter and solid waste.

Special interests in the beverage, container, and grocery industries spent large amounts of money for campaign contributions and lobbying expenses to fight the bottle bill in 1984 and 1985.

AGAINST THE BOTTLE BILL:

THE NATIONAL SOFT DRINK ASSOCIATION

Beverage consumers suffer a tremendous burden wherever bottle bills are enacted. Without exception, forced deposits have increased the price people pay for soft drinks and beer. In September 1983, *The Economist* reported, "New Yorkers are paying up to 25% more on some brands of beer...they will be paying over $300 million a year in deposits alone. Price increases will add roughly the same amount."

In the nine bottle bill states, dramatic price increases were triggered by substantially higher handling costs. The entire beverage system is practically dismantled and replaced with a two-way container distribution and retrieval network, where substantial costs are incurred and added to the price of the product.

Advocates of a deposit law point to litter and solid waste as the major problem that demands a forced deposit solution. According to a study at the Institute of Applied Research, only 11.1% of total urban litter is made up of beverage containers. A 1974 EPA study said that beverage litter accounts for only 5% of the solid waste problem nationwide.

Deposit laws burden the customer and produce hidden tax increases that cost consumers millions of hard-earned dollars. If the container is damaged or the consumer is unable to return it, the deposit is forfeited.

A 1984 study by the Can Manufacturers Institute of federal and state malt beverage excise tax collections reported that the nine deposit law states and the federal government may have lost over $75 million in excise taxes as a result of reduced beer consumption caused by the forced deposit system.

Grocers must purchase new equipment, expand costly storage space, and spend more money for sanitation.

While a bottle bill will create unskilled jobs, the creation of those minimum wage jobs will be offset by the elimination of higher-paying positions in the beverage container manufacturing industries. According to a 1975 Department of Commerce study, 82,000 good-paying jobs would be lost if Congress enacted a national beverage container deposit law.

Business suffers because consumers buy fewer products; New York found that beer sales plummeted by 7% and soft drink bottlers experienced a 6.4% loss in sales in the first year the deposit law was in effect.

For retailers, forced deposits mean literally storing billions of empty bottles and cans in floor space worth as much as $100 a square foot. Payroll costs soar when unskilled workers are hired to process the returns, and sanitation expenses increase as store owners attempt to protect their customers from the vermin and rodents that often accompany the return of dirty empties.

Forced recycling cripples voluntary recycling; independent recyclers find their business devastated by the forced deposit system.

The opposition to the bottle bill includes manufacturers of throwaways, beer and soft drink bottlers, and affected labor unions.

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SPOTLIGHT...ON LAW-RELATED EDUCATION

Law-related education is a national movement by attorneys and educators to incorporate legal studies into the curriculum at all levels. The Virginia Institute for Law and Citizenship Studies, a statewide program for law-related education, has been instrumental during the past seven years in educating thousands of students about their legal responsibilities and rights. The Institute treats the study of law as a basic skill and encourages responsible civic and political involvement.

The Institute has a variety of projects, including staff development training programs, a materials clearinghouse, and case studies that involve students in the process of legal decision making.

Headquartered at Virginia Commonwealth University and supported through its School of Education, the Institute is funded by grants from the Virginia State Bar, the Virginia Bar Association, and the Virginia Law Foundation.

The Institute publishes a bibliography of curriculm materials and operates a "lending library" that is open to all teachers. Two notebooks of case studies, *Issues of Law and Citizenship*, are available to help students learn about substantive law and court rulings. Each of the cases presents a summary of the facts and provides the groundwork for a discussion of the legal issues, arguments, and application of the law. A recently completed instructional package, ***The Colonial Case of John Peter Zenger***, allows students to develop a better understanding of freedom of the press in colonial times and today by role playing the Zenger trial.

In addition, the Institute is currently planning a series of one-day constitutional seminars for educators; participants will have the opportunity to work with constitutional scholars from throughout the state and learn new ways to teach constitutional issues. Seminars are planned in 1986 for Richmond, Norfolk, and Fairfax.

For information about the Institute and its services or for a subscription to its free newsletter, contact Joe O'Brien, Director, Virginia Institute for Law and Citizenship Studies, Inc., 1015 West Main Street, Richmond, VA 23284; (804) 257-1322.

OTHER RESOURCES FOR LAW-RELATED EDUCATION:

The following publications are available from the Virginia Division for Children, 805 E. Broad Street, 11th Floor, Richmond, VA 23219:

"You Have the Right, If You Know It: Rights and Responsibilities Handbook for Virginia Teenagers", 1982, 80 pp. ($2.83)

"Step-by-Step: A Guide Through the Juvenile Justice System in Virginia", 1982, 50 pp. ($2.83)

"A Lawyer Can Help" and "Your Virginia State Bar: What It Means To You," two pamphlets available free from the Virginia State Bar, Suite 1622, 700 Bldg., 700 East Main Sreet, Richmond, VA 23219.

"The Judicial System: Journal to Justice," a series of supplemental materials designed for different grade levels. The 12th grade packet includes information on civil and criminal trial procedures, mock trials, and the juvenile system. It is available from Robert N. Baldwin, Executive Secretary, Supreme Court of Virginia, 100 North Ninth St., Richmond, VA 23219 (804) 786-6455.

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QUARTERLY

A Newsletter to Update Resources for Teaching Virginia Government

NEW HAUNTS FOR OLD IDEAS: ANTIFEDERALISM TODAY

by Tracy Warren

"It has an awful squinting, it squints towards monarchy." With these startling words, Patrick Henry voiced his opposition to the Constitution during Virginia's ratification debates. Indeed, he expected the worst of the new government: ". . . the whole of our property may be taken by this American government, by laying what taxes they please, and suspending our laws at their pleasure." Although it seems preposterous now to suspect the Constitution of monarchism, Patrick Henry was not eccentric in his fears. Seventy-nine members of the Virginia convention voted against the Constitution, and Virginia ratified by only ten votes. Clearly, many people must have had serious reservations about the document we so often take for granted today.

How could a patriot (and surely no one would doubt Patrick Henry's patriotism) so violently oppose the Constitution, anchor of our democracy? How could George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, vote against ratification both at the Philadelphia and the Virginia conventions? And James Monroe, our fifth president, what were his reasons for voting against the document that created the presidency he would later assume? As we look back at the debates in Virginia, we should ask ourselves why these well-respected, intelligent, and sincere men opposed what has become the bulwark of our own government. We should also consider whether their arguments would persuade us today.

To begin to answer these questions we need to imagine the political situation of 1787. No one could deny the need for a common government stronger than that provided by the Articles of Confederation; relations among the thirteen colonies were chaotic at best, and at times almost warlike. Some states were actually more friendly with other countries than with their own neighbors. But if there was distrust between the states, many felt an even deeper distrust of national government.

In setting up the new government, considerations of fairness and the protection of rights were foremost in everyone's mind. But the Antifederalists were not persuaded that a consolidated national government, as opposed to the confederated one, could remain responsive to its mixed national and state constituencies. Such a government would prove too large to protect the individual and, moreover, it suggested a dangerous centralization of power. The Antifederalists feared that with only national interests at heart, the federal government would be forced to compromise the interests of the states. And it was state sovereignty that they believed held the true key to individual freedom. States, functioning as small republics of likeminded citizens, would be better able, in their view, to protect individual rights.

In Monroe's opinion, juggling the interests of these diverse and competitive constituencies would be impossible. In a suppressed pamphlet, he wrote:

> To mark the precise point at which the powers of the general government shall cease, and that from whence those of the states shall commence, to poise them in such manner as to prevent either destroying the other, will require the utmost force of human wisdom and ingenuity. No possible ground of variance or even interference should be left, for there would the conflict commence, that might perhaps prove fatal to both.

No one had yet lived under such a system, so no one could predict if the fears of the Antifederalists were well grounded. As with all truly novel experiments, the Constitution had to be instituted in the face of many unknowns. Consequently, this document must have looked very different to those viewing it before ratification than it does to us now.

Yet reading the Antifederalists today, one has the uncanny sensation that their voices are still with us. What was once called Antifederalism, it seems, has been resurrected as the "New Federalism." President Reagan ran a very popular campaign with the slogan "Get the government off the backs of the people." Many agree with the president that the federal government was never meant to have the extensive power it has today, that the federal government has power that rightfully belongs to the states. It is in this new populism, then, that one can hear echoes of the Antifederalists most clearly. Arguments over fairer representation, limiting the power of the federal government, and, as always, fairer taxation eerily resemble the arguments of over two hundred years ago.

The bicentennial of the Constitution in 1987 affords us the perfect occasion to reflect on the lively and often surprising history of its ratification. As Herbert J. Storing has written in his excellent introduction to the Antifederalists' papers, "If the foundation of the American polity was laid by the Federalists, the Anti-Federalist reservations echo through American history; and it is in the dialogue, not merely in the Federalist victory, that the country's principles are to be discovered." This history offers not merely an account of events that happened two hundred years ago; by helping us understand the various strands of thought that were entwined in our Constitution's beginning, it helps us to understand better our political present. And what better way to celebrate the longevity of the American experiment than by an examination of its precarious beginnings and a continuation of the dialogue started so long ago??

Tracy Warren is the associate staff director for the Virginia Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. She and members of her staff will be contributing articles about the Constitution on a regular basis.

Teacher Resource Service, Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903

VIRGINIA'S FINANCES: THE BUDGET PROCESS

In his final budget message to the General Assembly, Governor Charles S. Robb noted:

> We have strived to make state government responsive to the needs of our citizens, while at the same time finding ways to make it more efficient and effective. We have undertaken some major initiatives over these last four years in critically evaluating state government services, limiting the growth of state employment, and instituting a more rational approach to our regulatory activities. We have embarked on a major effort to begin the cleanup of our Chesapeake Bay. We have made a major commitment to strengthen our system of public education....

This situation is markedly different from the economic insecurity the state faced in the early 1980s. Record unemployment, increased business closures, tight money, and inflation had brought about an erosion of consumer confidence in the economy of both Virginia and the nation. Through sound management practices, a healthy national economy and increased development, however, Virginia's economy in 1986 is strong and diverse.

A BUDGET IS...

. . . a document, containing words and figures, that proposes expenditures for certain items and purposes.
. . . a link between financial resources and human behavior to accomplish policy objectives.
. . . a series of goals with price tags attached.
. . . a series of victories and defeats, compromises and bargains, which lie at the heart of the political process.

THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Both the Robb Administration and the Baliles Administration have adhered to four major principles in designing their budgets:

1. Hold down the size and complexity of government by identifying and supporting those services that are essential and that serve the crucial needs of our citizens.
2. Investigate and establish efficient and equitable methods of either making sevices self-supporting or providing current services, with less dependence upon general fund support wherever feasible and appropriate;
3. Restrict the rate of growth in expenditures by requiring that current resources be used more productively and efficiently but, at the same time, realize that new sources of revenue might be necessary;
4. Simplify and reduce the costs of governmental administrative processes and regulations.

BUDGET PLANNING

The **biennial budget** is the Commonwealth's plan for raising **revenues** and allocating expenditures for the next two years. It is adopted by the General Assembly in even-numbered years during its "long" session (sixty or more days) and is perhaps most important policy tool for both the governor and the assembly.

Article X of the Virginia Constitution, "Taxation and Finance," provides the basic authority for the state's financial administration of the state. It also sets restrictions on the amount of debt Virginia may incur at any one time. Historically, Virginia's **indebtedness** is low because of a conservative **pay-as-you-go** approach. Because of this mandate, the Governor must submit a **balanced budget**, and the General Assembly must approve a balanced budget. In addition, Article X outlines permissible types of taxes. For example, state government is prohibited from taxing real estate, coal and other mineral lands, and most personal property; these revenues are reserved exclusively for local governments.

Many pressures come to bear on the budget-making process. Budget analyses are a clue to what the governor, legislators, and voters consider the major functions of government. A good deal of money is already earmarked for the continuation of existing services and administrative procedures.

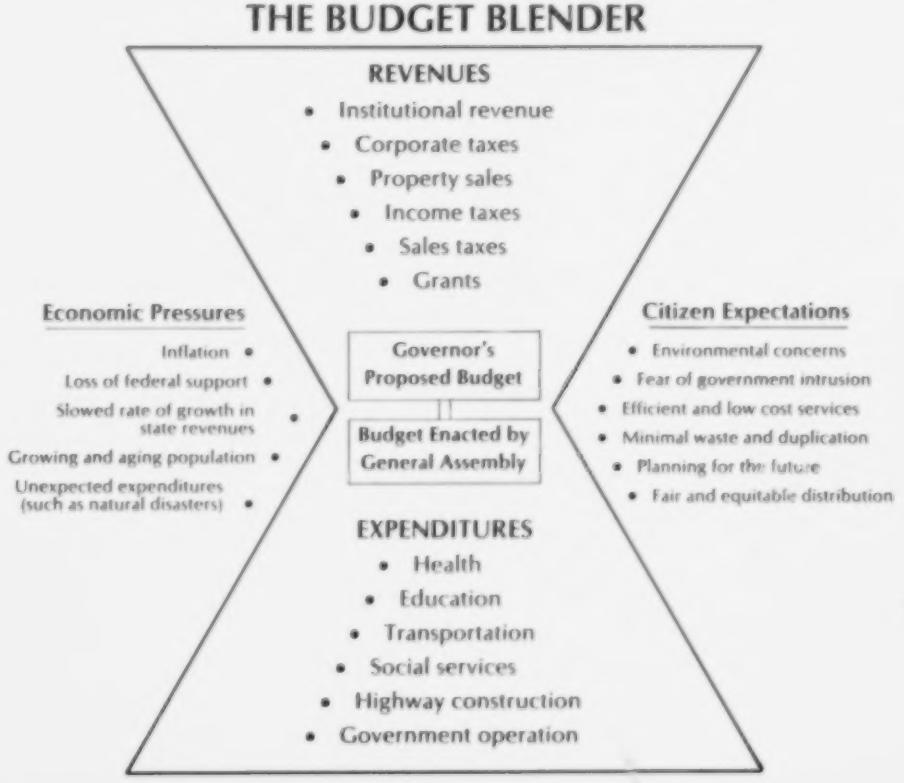
Budget-makers must try to forecast inflation for the coming years and adjust their predictions of revenue and expenditures accordingly. There is actually very little **discretionary income** to spend on new programs. Political pressures and legal problems come into play as legislators struggle to make decisions on how to increase revenues and where to make cuts.

BUDGET QUESTIONS

Practical, ethical, and philosophical considerations are also part of the decision-making process:

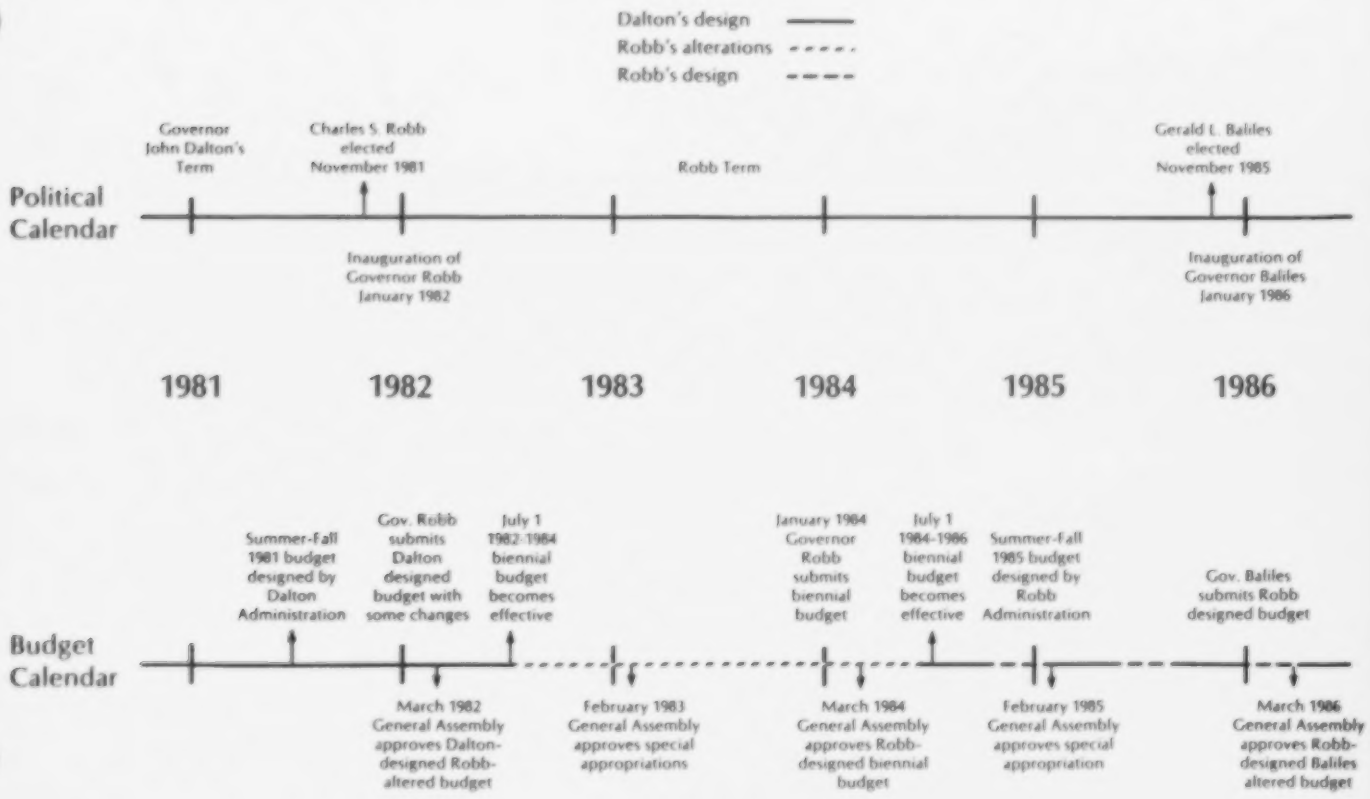
- Is it fair to increase the state gas tax in light of recent federal tax increases on gasoline?
- Will low corporate tax rates really encourage new business and the creation of new jobs?
- Can school districts meet the Standards of Quality without a major increase in local expenditures for education?
- Should new sources of revenue such as a state lottery or taxes on personal services be found?
- Which health and welfare services should the state pay for, and which should be left for local government or families?
- How is the efficiency of current programs measured?
- What is "fair" when taxes are personal and benefits are general?

THE BUDGET BLENDER



The Governor and the Budget

Because of Virginia's election and budget calendars, 30 months of a governor's 48-month term are served utilizing the previous governor's budget.


Dalton's design
Robb's alterations
Robb's design
Political Calendar
Governor John Dalton's Term
Charles S. Robb elected November 1981
Inauguration of Governor Robb January 1982
Robb Term
Gerald L. Baliles elected November 1985
Inauguration of Governor Baliles January 1986
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
Budget Calendar
Summer-Fall 1981 budget designed by Dalton Administration
Gov. Robb submits Dalton designed budget with some changes
July 1 1982-1984 biennial budget becomes effective
January 1984 Governor Robb submits biennial budget
July 1 1984-1986 biennial budget becomes effective
Summer-Fall 1985 budget designed by Robb Administration
Gov. Baliles submits Robb designed budget
March 1982 General Assembly approves Dalton-designed Robb-altered budget
February 1983 General Assembly approves special appropriations
March 1984 General Assembly approves Robb-designed biennial budget
February 1985 General Assembly approves special appropriation
March 1986 General Assembly approves Robb-designed Baliles altered budget

BUDGET PREPARATION

The Commonwealth's budget is prepared by the Department of Planning and Budget in the Office of the Secretary of Finance, a new cabinet post created in a 1984 reorganization.

The 1986-1988 budget process began in the spring of 1985 when state agencies submitted estimates of needed **capital outlays**. Estimates of **operating expenses** were submitted in August 1985. By November, both sets of estimates had been adjusted to reflect revenues projected by the Department of Taxation, with the assistance of several other fiscal and planning agencies. The budget document, with separate budgets for capital items and operating expenses, was printed in December and presented to the General Assembly by the Governor within five days of the opening session in January 1986.

The House Appropriations Committee, the House Finance Committee, and the Senate Finance Committee held both public hearings and closed sessions. Heads of agencies and other program administrators answered questions about their requested **appropriations**. The Secretary of Finance, acting as the governor's representative, lobbied for programs that are of special importance to the chief executive.

Ordinary citizens and representatives of interest groups also took part in the hearings. The real "clout" in the budget process, however, belongs to the Senate Finance Committee and its chairman, Senator Edward Willey.

The budget for 1986-1988 was adopted by the General Assembly in March 1986 and goes into effect when the new **fiscal year** (FY '87) begins on July 1, 1986. Although the budget is planned for a two-year cycle, changing needs will cause the General Assembly to consider **appropriations supplements** when it meets in January 1987.

MONEY: COMING AND GOING

State **revenues** in Virginia are grouped into two major categories: **general** and **nongeneral** funds. In the 1986-1988 biennium, approximately 91 percent of the general fund revenue will be derived from five types of direct taxes; individual income taxes will account for approximately 53 percent of those.

The nongeneral fund revenues come mainly from two sources: (1) grants and donations and (2) institutional revenues. They are usually earmarked for particular purposes. Federal grants for education, drivers' license fees for highway maintenance, college tuition fees, and hospital service payments fall into that category. During the 1986-1988 biennium, nongeneral funds will account for slightly less than half (49 percent) of total revenues.

State government operations reflect two decades of unparalled growth in both size and complexity. The biennial appropriations for 1984-1986 authorized a $15.7 billion budget and provided for services ranging from support for basic education, to research in ornamental crops, to disease prevention, to the purchase of soybeans.

The 1986-1988 budget will total over $18 billion. Major new expenditures include the full funding of the state's share of the costs of the Standards of Quality for education; new initiatives in social services (in areas such as family violence and mental health); and environmental needs (such as the Chesapeake Bay clean-up and wastewater treatment facilities).

In addition, the state will face cuts in federal aid as a result of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction measures. In 1980, federal funds accounted for 25 percent of Virginia's revenues; by 1990, they may by only 18 percent. The expectations of people and the ability of our government to provide services are changing. Hard decisions must be made by lawmakers and citizens on how to continue doing what the Commonwealth must do, how to discontinue services that are unnecessary, and how to assume responsibility for new and different services.

1986 Legislative Seminars

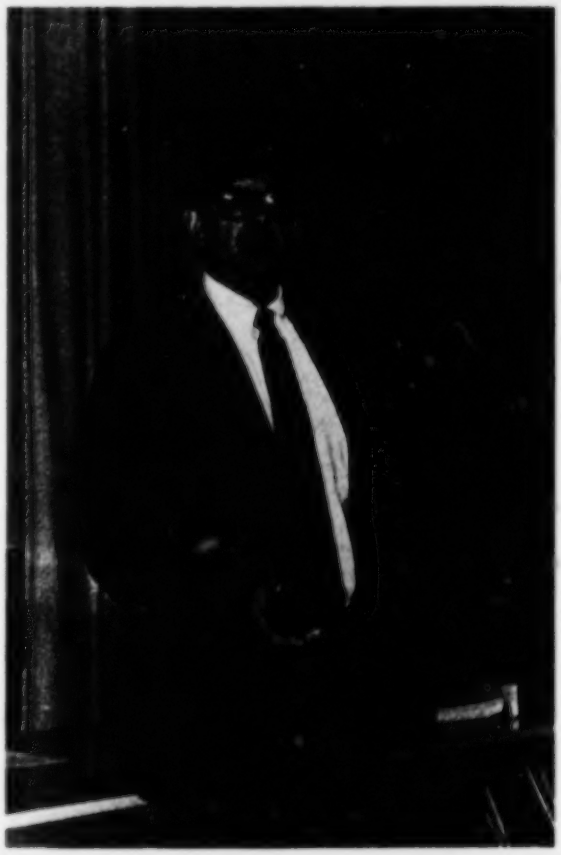
Governor Gerald L. Baliles greets Eleanor Duffield, Ralph Cox, and Jean Ehlman.

In February, the TRS organized a series of Legislative Seminars for social studies teachers throughout the Commonwealth. The purpose of the seminars was to give teachers a first-hand experience in state government so they would be better prepared to teach about the General Assembly and the legislative process in Virginia.

About 1200 flyers were sent to twelfth grade government teachers, middle school social studies teachers, and social studies supervisors. The response was phenomenal; three sessions were immediately filled, and a fourth was added. Within three weeks, all 150 seats were filled and over 100 teachers were put on a waiting list for next year.

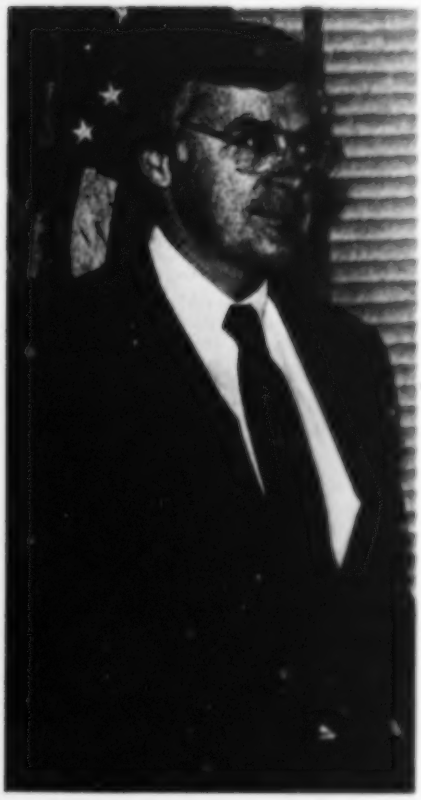
In demographic terms, the "urban crescent" (Northern Virginia, metropolitan Richmond, and Tidewater) dominated, although teachers from all over the state participated in the seminars. Southwest Virginia, Southside, the Valley, and the Eastern Shore were all represented.

Each of the four seminars featured meetings with legislators, a panel discussion by several lobbyists, scheduled time to attend the General Assembly, free time to attend committee hearings, and free materials relating to state government.



Delegate James H. Dillard, a government teacher in Fairfax County, gives teachers some suggestions about student projects.

A Huge Success!



Governor Baliles addresses the seminar.

"I was very much impressed with the entire program. I especially enjoyed the interview with Governor Baliles."

"There is a reality to this day that no textbook can convey."

"I liked the excitement of the Assembly and the idea that citizen votes and opinions count."

"I got a real feel for the way the state works."

"Delegate Dillard was excellent. I really liked his suggestions for bringing students to the Assembly."

"I'd like to shadow my delegate next year."

Ross Kearney of Hampton poses a question.

"I enjoyed meeting teachers from all over the state and sharing ideas with them."

"The seminar served to rekindle a degree of enthusiasm in state government."

"My head is full! The process is clearer; I enjoyed all the stories and the inside information we heard!"

Teachers share ideas and strategies.

Career Corner:
Behind the Scenes at the General Assembly

Teachers: Dipping into Politics

"I really enjoy the pace and action of the Assembly. There is a variety of subjects to deal with and lots of different people to work with. I'm a 'people person' and politics is really a people business."

Drexell George, a sixth grade teacher in Fairfax County and retired Air Force flier, reflected about his four years serving as a legislative assistant to Republican James H. Dillard, also a Fairfax County teacher.

"I've always been interested in politics. I worked at the Pentagon for thirteen years and ran highly sensitive programs that often required contact with lawmakers on Capitol Hill. I realized then that the legislature is the real 'action line.'"

Mr. George has a long history of activism in his school, community, and church. He has served as treasurer and secretary of both the Prince William and Fairfax education associations.

Describing his job as one that requires knowledge, organization, and diplomacy, Mr. George noted that his main tasks are keeping his delegate's daily schedule organized and answering the mail in a timely and proper way. "Since the Assembly meets for only thirty or sixty days, there is a lot crammed into a short time. It's not unusual for a delegate to be invited to several breakfasts or have several committee meetings at the same time. I make out a daily schedule on an index card so Delegate Dillard can get where he's supposed to be."

In addition, there is a lot of constituent mail to answer. "We have letters from students, neighborhood groups, and citizens concerned about a single issue such as seat belts." And, every session has its own personality. "This year, there weren't many high-energy emotional bills. The conflict-of-interest debate kept a lot of people from voting on certain issues or getting involved with controversial measures."

Mr. George feels that he's learned a lot from his work at the Assembly. "We deal with small groups of people—the activists—who tend to control the direction and mechanism of legislation; people don't realize how much they are being influenced by a few. It's only when adverse things affect them personally that people get involved."

Students: Taking the Plunge

Who are those blue-blazered teenagers scurrying around the halls of the General Assembly Building and the Capitol?

They are the pages for the House of Delegates—a select group of young people who are part of the important support staff for Virginia's legislators.

Each year, 42 young people, aged 12-14, are chosen from about 350 applicants statewide. Prospective pages must submit a formal application and an endorsement from their local delegate. In addition, they must have permission from their school principal. Some applicants are interviewed by their delegates and all applications eventually are reviewed by the Speaker of the House, Mr. Philpott.

The pages' day begins at 8:30 a.m. when they report to the page room on the lower level of the General Assembly Building. Their responsibilities include collating the day's bills and udpdating the delegates' bill books—large binders filled with bills in various stages of the legislative process. Their most visible job is running errands—everything from delivering research files to picking up tuxedos and photos, to getting a Big Mac for a delegate. The pages spend their free time playing cards or catching up on homework in the page room.

When the general session begins at noon each day, half of the pages report to the floor of the House. "This part," says Maggie Howell of Hampton, "is the neatest thing about the job."

They can follow controversial debates, learn about state politics and realize that even legislators are human. Tammi Martin of McLean talked about the "Coffin Corner"—the far corner of the House chamber, home to the Democrats. On the day the House was due to debate the "blaze orange bill" (which would require hunters to wear blaze orange gear), the delegates showed up wearing bright orange ski caps.

Their work day is over at 5:00 and the pages are on their own until the mandatory evening study hall at their home-away-from-home, the John Marshall Hotel. Two tutors help the students keep up with the assignments that are sent weekly by their teachers. Out-of-town pages are given $200 weekly for expenses; $106 of that goes for hotel expenses and the rest is used for food and travel costs. In addition, they each receive a salary of $125 per week. Most of the pages indicated they were able to save money and were stashing it away for college.

Mr. Raymond Via, head pagemaster, reports that personal independence is one of the most important facts of life for a page. He noted that the young people must make arrangements for their own meals, budget their expenses, and plan their study schedules. "It really forces them to make mature decisions."

"War stories" abound. Tammi Martin told her favorite about a colleague who was asked by a delegate to go to the bank and cash a $500 check; the order was to bring back five $100 bills. The page misunderstood, however, and brought back five hundred $1 bills. Needless to say, both the bank teller and the delegate were not pleased!

What are the most memorable moments? "Once, a bald eagle was brought into the chamber," said Corey Hanson of Virginia Beach. "And Miss Virginia was recognized before the House," said Julie Thompson of Petersburg. "I thought she had on too much make-up, but some of the delegates rated her a 10." "Oh, and they rate the prayers too," she added. "Several delegates give a 10 to short prayers and lower ratings to longer prayers!" "Two field trips came from my high school," said Torey Powell of Richmond. "I felt special being on the floor when they were in the gallery!" "The best time, though, was a sub and soda party at the Governor's mansion, which featured a juggler and a buffet table of deli foods for do-it-yourself subs," added Torey.

As their work was coming to an end, the pages were somewhat reflective. "We really made some good friends and we've all exchanged addresses," noted head page Catherine Shell of Amelia. "And we'll be back next year on Washington's Birthday for a reunion. It's been terrific!"

If you are interested in becoming a legislative aide or have students who are interested in becoming pages, contact your local delegate or senator.

PERSPECTIVES ON POWER: PACS, PULL AND PUBLIC POLICY

These two articles were abridged and reprinted from local newspapers. Each presents an insight into the personal and political powers of members of the General Assembly.

Legislative Study Shows Power Belongs to Handful by G.L. Marshall, UPI

A statistical study of bills in this General Assembly shows real power is held by a tiny group of lawmakers and the clout springs from being able to kill legislation in committee.

Of the 352 pieces of legislation on February 21's "failed bill list," 96.3 percent had been zapped in committee. The bloodbaths off the floor are the primary reason the General Assembly can handle as many bills in 60 days as Congress does all year.

The list of lawmakers with the most clout are all Democrats—no surprise considering the huge majority (38-8 in the Senate, 67-33 in the House) they enjoy. The majority party handles the committee assignments, and that turns out to be critical.

In this session, 50.2 percent of all Senate bills passed through just two committees, Finance or Courts of Justice. After switchover time, those two Senate committees wound up handling 43.2 percent of all House bills. When a question arises over why a bill is referred to a certain committee, . . . the dispute is handled by the Rules Committee.

Eight votes can dominate any of the 15-member committees, and that makes the six senators serving on all three committees some of the most powerful around. The six are Majority Leader Hunter Andrews, Halifax Sen. Howard Anderson, Henrico Sen. William Parkerson, Norfolk Sen. Peter Babalas, Botetourt Sen. Dudley "Buzz" Emick and Fairfax Sen. Joseph Gartlan.

Another name associated with the word "clout" is that of Richmond Sen. Edward Willey, who runds the Senate Finance Committee "like a Mafia don," according to one lawmaker. Pet projects must come through his committee or all 15 finance committee members will vote against the amendment on the floor. Fifteen votes go a long way in a body where 21 votes are needed to defeat a floor amendment.

No discussion of Senate clout would be complete without a look at the "Secret Seven," the handful of lawmakers who meet secretly to hammer out budget details.

There are actually more than seven, as the list includes the eight people mentioned plus Sen. Clive DuVal, the head of the Democratic caucus, and Minority Leader William Truban.

The path of power isn't as clear in the House, as there are 60 more lawmakers and twice as many committees (20 instead of 10). The House also has both an appropriations and a finance committee for money matters.

If those two committees are combined to equal the weight of the Senate Finance Committee, then adding the House Courts of Justice Committee shows lawmakers on these panels handle 47 percent of the bills—the same bottleneck as in the Senate. Just like in the Senate, once the rules committee is added for disputes, you find power lodged in one city: Newport News. Delegate Ted Morrison, considered one of the sharpest legal minds on the hill, and Delegate Alan Diamonstein, the former state Democratic chairman, are on three of four committees.

Abridged and reprinted from ***The Alexandria Journal****, February 27, 1986.*

PACs, Contributions Correlate with Votes in General Assembly

by Ray McAllister and Mike Grim

Maybe money does talk, as the cliche has it. Or maybe legislators talk and money only listens. But one thing is certain: Virginia senators and delegates vote with special interests significantly more often when they're receiving money from those interests than when they're not.

An extensive, computer-aided study by the ***Times-Dispatch*** of 1983 election contributions and the 1984 legislative voting patterns focused on "moneyed" legislators—the ones who got their money from special interests—and their "unmoneyed" colleagues. Sixteen breakdowns were provided on votes that emerged as being both of interest to big contributors and sufficiently contested to lend themsleves to analysis.

Of such legislation, 79 percent of the legislators receiving money voted the way special interests would want them to vote. By contrast, only 59 percent of those not getting money voted the way special interests would have wanted.

The newspaper study does not show a cause-and-effect relationship between contributions and votes—and did not seek to do so—but it does show that money and votes line up in a majority of the cases involving big-money interests and contested bills.

For instance, the Virginia Education Association and its local affiliates gave money to 12 of 39 Senators who voted on its oft-defeated attempt to get modified collective bargaining rights for public employees (such as teachers). How did the VEA fare?

Nine of the 12 who got VEA money, or 75 percent, voted VEA's way. Of the 27 without VEA money, only two or 7 percent voted VEA's way. The bill failed again.

Another example. At least three groups—the beer, soft-drink and food industries—wanted to get rid of a "bottle bill" that would have required deposits on certain beverage containers. A vote came up in the Senate Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources Committee to do so.

Seven senators who voted had received no contributions from any of the three groups. The remaining six senators got money ranging from $200 to $4,050 (a total of $11,210) from the groups. What happened?

Only two of the seven "un-moneyed" senators (29 percent) voted with the anti-bottle-bill groups. But all six of the senators who had received money from the beer, soft-drink and food industries voted against the legislation. Thus the bill, by an 8-5 vote, was "passed by indefinitely."

Larry J. Sabato, author of ***PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees*** said that PAC contributions are not necessarily major influences on voting. Far more important are a legislator's beliefs, constituency and party affiliation. Additionally, PACs often cancel each other out.

"[Election] votes matter more than money to politicians, and the only thing they're interested in is re-election," Sabato adds. "And votes reassure re-election." Thus, politicians usually won't risk a legislative vote that would lose constituent support even if that's what a money-giving PAC wants, he said.

Abridged and reprinted from the series "Money and Votes" in the ***Richmond Times-Dispatch****, December, 1984.*

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SPOTLIGHT... PROGRAMS ON THE CONSTITUTION

Dig into primary sources in the National Archives workshop, **PRIMARILY TEACHING**. This workshop introduces teachers to the holdings and organization of the National Archives. Participants learn how to do research at the Archives, how to create classroom material, and how to present documents in a way that enhances their students' basic skills and appreciation of history. Special emphasis this year will be on constitutional issues. Contact Wynell Burroughs at the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. or call (202) 523-3347.

Travel the **CONSTITUTION ROUTE** of Virginia. The ninety miles of Virginia State Route 20 was officially named the "Constitution Route" in 1975 to recognize its historical significance. It includes Civil War sites, historic homes, and important courthouses; it also runs through the heart of Virginia's wine country. Contact the Constitution Highway Association, P.O. Box 230, Orange, VA 22960 for a brochure.

Learn about the Constitution at Temple University's summer institute on **CLASSIC WORKS OF AMERICAN FEDERAL DEMOCRACY** to be held at Copper Mountain, Vail, Colorado. Teachers selected will receive a stipend of $1,880 as well as a wide array of new teaching ideas and approaches to use in their classrooms. Contact Dr. Ellis Katz at the Center for the Study of Federalism, 10th Floor, Gladfelter Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122 or call (215) 787-1480.

Use **TEACHING UNITS** based on primary sources. The National Archives and SIRS, Inc. have developed packages of materials that contain reproductions of documents highlighting the enduring issues of American government: federalism, voting rights, the separation of church and state, and the national debt. Students interpret the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, evaluate the successes and failures of the Articles of Confederation, and reenact debates which led to the adoption of the Constitution. Contact SIRS, Inc., P.O. Box 2348, Boca Raton, Florida 33427 or call (800) 327-0513.

Join scholars, master teachers, and other teachers at the **CONSTITUTIONAL SUMMER INSTITUTE** on the campus of The Catholic University of America. Held from July 21 through August 15, 1986, this institute will feature lecture/discussion sessions, independent study, and field trips in the nation's capital. Teachers will receive a stipend, room, board, and materials. Contact Carey-Greenberg Associates, 8818 26th Place, Adelphi, MD 20783 or call (301) 422-1443.

Review **LESSONS ON THE CONSTITUTION**, a notebook of supplements for high school courses. It is an excellent classroom resource available from the Social Science Consortium, Inc., 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302. The lessons can be photocopied and used in a variety of classroom settings.

Participate in the thirteenth annual **TAFT SEMINAR FOR TEACHERS** at the Curry School of Education of the University of Virginia. Class sessions will be conducted by politicians, government officials, political scientists, and educators. Tuition and fees are paid, but there is a $90.00 tax-deductible seminar fee. Contact Dr. Jerry R. Moore, Room 221A, Ruffner Hall, 405 Emmet Street, Charlottesville, VA 22903 or call (804) 924-0837.

THE QUARTERLY

May 1986 Vol. 1, no. 4

A Newsletter to Update Resources for Teaching Virginia Government

The Future of State and Local Government

In his acclaimed bestseller, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, forecaster John Naisbitt draws attention to major changes in the operations of government when he notes that "state and local governments are the most important political entities in America."

He argues that the key to decentralization of political power in the United States today is local action. Localized political power is not delegated from the federal level to the state, municipal or neighborhood levels. Rather, it stems from the initiatives taken on by the state or neighborhood in the absence of an effective top-down solution.

Naisbitt buttresses his opinion with impressive observations:

- In 1981-82, the Congress introduced some 15,000 bills and passed 500. In the same period, the states taken together introduced 250,000 bills, and more than 50,000 became law.

- States are reviving their traditional function as the laboratories of democracy; Virginia, for example, is one of a group of coal-producing states that joined together to investigate and prosecute illegal activities in the coal industry.

- Congress is widely perceived as a weak and inefficient body; states are initiating local solutions to national problems. (For example, Virginia passed a "marital rape" law this year—one of the first in the nation.)

- The National Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations reports that states are "structurally and procedurally stronger, more accountable, assertive, and perform a major intergovernmental management role."

- States are increasingly characterized by upgraded tax systems, modernized legislatures, well-qualified state officials, and professional support staffs.

- During the 1970s, most states moved from two-year to four-year gubernatorial terms. (Virginia remains one of four states that will not permit a governor to serve successive terms.) State legislatures replaced short sessions every other year with longer annual sessions.

- Colorado Governor Richard Lamm has noted that "the day of the state has come and gone—and come back again." States' rights rhetoric re-emerges most frequently today on energy, water, and environmental issues.

- The logical extension of states' rights is the notion that the states within a region should band together to protect their mutual self-interest. It is a tough new brand of economic and political regionalism that grows out of the unique problems and resources common to a group of states. (The popular concept of a southern regional primary is witness to this trend.)

- There is an upsurge in grassroots political activity. Some 20 million Americans are now organized around issues of local concern; 25 percent of the population say they are members of a neighborhood group.

- Issues that promote local activism include education, transportation, neighborhood development and preservation, crime, and waste disposal.

- You are where you live; more Americans identify with a region or state than ever before. (In Virginia, the past decade has seen the emergence of many local magazines and newspapers as well as the hugely successful "Virginia is for Lovers" and "We Have it Made in Virginia" ad campaigns.)

- People whose lives are affected by a decision must be a part of the process of arriving at that decision. The 1970s marked the beginning of a participatory era in politics with an unprecedented growth in the use of referenda and initiatives.

- The growth of interest groups, political action committees, and high tech communications centers has enabled more people to become part of an organization lobbying for action on any given subject.

These revelations present a challenge to social studies educators to prepare students for active participation in all levels of government—international and national but, most importantly, state and local.

Teacher Resource Service, Institute of Government, Minor Hall, University of Virginia, Charlottesville 22903

THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS ACT:

WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR VIRGINIA?

Much has been written about the huge federal deficit and the various proposals to reduce it. But what exactly is the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act and what effect will it have on Virginians?

HISTORY

G-R-H is a revolutionary piece of legislation—it provides for sweeping cuts in many social programs and what some political scientists would call an abandonment of the New Deal philosophy that has set the tone of American government programs for half a century. There is no political or economic history for this type of legislation—even the authors of the bill find it difficult to predict the consequences. The importance, however, is symbolic—the American people and their legislators have decided that deficits are unacceptable because they effectively immobilize the day-to-day operations of government.

UNCERTAINTIES

G-R-H is an intricate and powerful statute that requires the federal government to reduce spending on most programs by a certain percentage each year in order to reach a zero deficit by 1991. The exact percentage is based on a formula that takes into account certain economic projections such as employment, inflation, and tax revenues. If, however, G-R-H goes into effect in its present form, it would require a cutback of $36 billion for fiscal year 1987. Because the cuts are based on projections rather than firm figures, there is considerable room for uncertainty. In addition, there are questions about the constitutionality of the measure, which is presently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

SCENARIO IN VIRGINIA

Virginia is more vulnerable than other states to cuts necessitated by G-R-H because of the large role the federal government plays here. In 1983, the federal government employed 6 percent of all Virginians in civilian jobs—more than double the national average. In addition, there were 94,000 active-duty military personnel stationed in Virginia. Even these numbers are understated, however, because they do not take into account the large number of Virginia residents who commute to federal jobs in the District of Columbia and Maryland.

Certain areas have large concentrations of federal employees; 40 percent of Northern Virginians and 37.2 percent of Tidewater residents work for the government.

In the fiscal year (FY) 1984, government contracts totalling over $6 billion were awarded in Virginia, mostly for defense. For example, the shipyard industries of Hampton Roads are largely dependent upon government contracts, and a cutback would probably lead to unemployment not only in the primary industries, but also in support services. (The recent drop in oil prices, for example, has had a "ripple effect" in the Texas economy where libraries are closing, teachers are facing salary cuts, and dentists aren't drilling because people can't afford their services.)

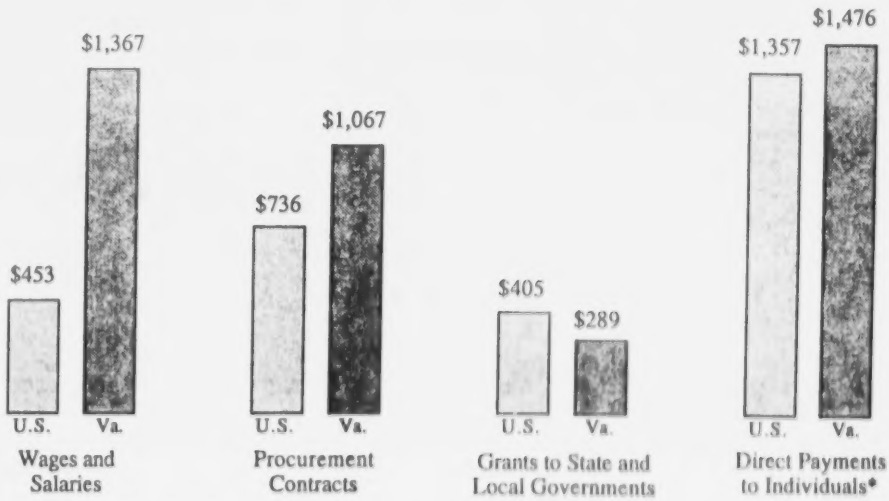
Grants to state and local governments are also a source of revenue. In FY 1984, they accounted for 16.1 percent of Virginia's revenues. Cuts in this area would mean the state would have to support some programs and drop others.

Direct federal payments to individuals in the form of social security, medicare, veteran's benefits, etc., represented 7.7 percent of Virginians' income. While some of these benefits would be safe from G-R-H cuts, others would not.

Although the outlook may be grim for Virginians, the future is largely unknown. Congress could change its mandate or the Supreme Court could decide that G-R-H is unconstitutional. If cuts are implemented, they will not be uniform among programs. According to some forecasters, it is highly probable that private employers will be able to provide jobs for displaced federal workers. The most consoling note is that Virginia's economy is strong and resilient; it has weathered other economic strains and will probably continue to function strongly despite projected cuts.

The University of Virginia has sponsored several recent conferences that have considered the national and state consequences of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act. This article was derived from remarks by two University of Virginia faculty members: Matthew Holden, the Henry L. and Grace M. Doherty Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs; and John L. Knapp, Deputy Director of the Tayloe Murphy Institute of the Darden Graduate Business School. Look for more information about G-R-H in an upcoming ***University of Virginia News Letter****.*

PER CAPITA FEDERAL OUTLAYS IN VIRGINIA AND THE U.S., FY 1984



* Includes federal retirement payments

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

PLANNING IN VIRGINIA:

WHAT KIND OF COMMUNITIES DO WE WANT?

DEVELOPERS UNVEIL PROPOSAL FOR HIGH-RISE CONDO

SHELTERED WORKSHOP WILL LOCATE IN ROSEMONT NEIGHBORHOOD

COORS BREWERY SEEKS SITE IN THE VALLEY

How will the proposed high-rise development affect property values in nearby neighborhoods? Is public transportation available for the retarded citizens who must get to the sheltered workshop? Is there enough water, sewerage, and housing for the hundreds of workers who will staff the brewery?

Professional planners must try to find answers to these and other complex questions as they untangle the web of benefits, conflicts, and costs that are reflected in the headlines. Planners possess technical skills that will help citizens and elected officals to design their future communities.

PLANNING ISSUES

Planning involves economic development, education, human services, environment, natural resources, and government. Planners must be able to look at questions from many different angles and create possible solutions. For example, in considering a proposed housing development for senior citizens, planners must ask:

- How do communities provide low-cost housing for a growing number of elderly?
- Can a city offer day care centers for senior citizens?
- How are older neighborhoods preserved when new housing units are critically needed?
- What type of transportation will be most efficient and cost effective?
- Can recreational and social programs be set up in unused schools for senior citizens?
- In an era of decreased federal support, how will localities pay for essential services and capital improvements?

THE PLANNING PROCESS

Planners must work with local elected officials, planning commission members, landowners, developers, industry leaders, citizen leaders, financial institutions, architects, engineers, the media, state officials and ordinary citizens to solve these complex and multi-faceted problems.

Planners are often asked to negotiate with diverse and often competing interests in the public sector, the private sector, and the non-profit sector. They must learn about land use, real estate economics, and the consequences of land decisions; in addition, they must be sensitive to the needs of people. Planners often blend two techniques—strategic planning and comprehensive planning—in an attempt to produce results acceptable to all parties.

Strategic planning is selective and not time dependent; it is suitable for specific projects and often takes advantage of opportunities that arise naturally. Comprehensive planning is a physical development plan that generally works within a 10-25-year time frame; it guides localities in determining the type and rate of growth they desire.

PLANNING BY THE STATE

The Governor's Commission on Virginia's Future noted that no individual, group, or institution is responsible for taking a long-range view of planning issues. In its final report, the Commission said:

> Virginia's current planning process is focused too heavily on the short-term and is too much dominated by two-year budget cycles. State government must plan to meet current needs, but it should not overlook the impact of long-term trends.

Several specific recommendations were made:

- An office of strategic planning should be established which would link the governor's goals and policies with the activities and budgets of the various agencies;
- A citizen advisory group should be established to assist the Governor's office in identifying trends and formulating policy;
- The General Assembly should consider realignment of local government boundaries;
- Greater policy-making power should be given to the Planning District Commissions and more regional cooperation should be encouraged.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

For social studies teachers, the study of planning is not an abstraction; it is a fundamental concept that can be included in citizenship, history, and government courses. The study of planning issues involves the knowledge and skills of the social sciences and fulfills certain standards of learning objectives:

12.2 The student will demonstrate a rational approach to social science through the use of decision-making skills.

12.8 The student will define free enterprise, identify its characteristics and explain its operation.

12.10 The student will identify and analyze the factors affecting decision-making at all government levels in the United States.

12.12 The student will demonstrate data-gathering skills.

ACTIVITIES

- Obtain maps from your local planning offices and use them to chart the past and future growth of your community.
- Ask a member of your local planning commission to speak to students.
- Encourage students to attend meetings of the city or town council, board of supervisors, planning commission, or board of zoning appeals.
- Ask a representative of a local history or preservation group to discuss how they work with developers.
- Sign up for a course in planning. The state universities offer courses at their various centers throughout the state; these are open to non-degree students and interested citizens.
- Ask for a copy of ***Planning In Virginia***, an annual publication distributed by Virginia Chapter of the American Planning Association. Contact Angela Moore, AICP, County of Henrico, P.O. Box 27032, Richmond, VA 23273.

State Department of Education Sponsors SOL Workshop

The Virginia State Department of Education has announced that it will sponsor two workshops to train teachers on how to incorporate the Standards of Learning into their curriculums. Hampton will host the workshops, to be held June 23-25 and June 25-27.

The workshops will focus on correlating SOL objectives with current curriculum approaches and textbooks.

In-service training using the new bicentennial publication, ***Lessons on the Constitution***, will be included in the workshops.

The Department hopes to attract at least one teacher from each school district in Virginia; participants will then be asked to serve as resource teachers in their own area. Eighth-grade citizenship teachers, elevnth-grade American history teachers, and twelfth-grade government teachers are especially encouraged to apply. A stipend will be awarded to cover expenses and free materials will be available.

For further information, contact the Social Studies Service, Virginia State Department of Education, Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 22316 or call (804) 335-2057.

New Materials

The White Burkett Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia recently received a grant from the National Home Library Foundation to distribute all currently available volumes from its unique ***Presidential Portrait Series*** to every high school library in Virginia.

This series is a collection of intensely personal and politically revealing accounts of five post-war presidents and their administrations as told by aides, staff members, and Cabinet secretaries who have been interviewed at the Miller Center. Center Director Kenneth W. Thompson noted that this collection of books "can be a significant addition to the curriculum of any social studies program . . . since they are first-hand accounts by those who actually shaped history."

School libraries can expect their copies to arrive within the next several weeks.

Learning By Doing

The Virginia Beach Court Docent Program

Many government teachers have found that a visit to the local courthouse or jail can be an impressive experience for their students. Often, though, teachers feel they lack the "connections," the time, or the institutional support to plan a complex field trip.

Realizing that students have a keen interest in criminal procedures, a group of Virginia Beach lawyers' wives established the Court Docent Program in 1978 to enable students and teachers to learn more about the adjudication process and rights of citizens. Supporters felt that an educational program would not only be crime preventive, but also would create an awareness of possible future participation in the judicial system—as a juror, a witness, a victim, or a legal professional. The program was financially underwritten by the Virginia Beach Bar Association and supported enthusiatically by local civic leaders and the superintendent of schools.

The program is designed for twelfth-grade students and involves a full day's visit to the court. Trained docents lead students through a mock trial; students play the parts of jurors, court officials, lawyers, and witnesses. They then listen to cases in both General District Court and Circuit Court and visit the jail.

Students are expected to fill out a "court observation" form as they move through the day's activities and then participate in a wrap-up discussion. In addition, students receive a packet of materials that includes charts of the various court systems, a glossary of legal terms, copies of legal forms, and a description of the juvenile court.

Mrs. Lillian Youell, one of the founders of the Docent Program, estimated that over 35,000 students have been exposed to the court system through the project. She said the program has now been expanded to include a meeting with juvenile court judges for sixth-graders and a speakers' service for in-school presentations. "The most gratifying aspect of the program," she concluded, "is that kids really begin to understand their roles and responsibilities as citizens.

For more information, contact Mrs. Lillian Youell, Chairman of Public Relations, Court Docent Program, 4105 Hermitage Point, Virginia Beach, VA 23455 or (804) 460-0870.

The YMCA Citizenship Programs

The Virginia YMCA is not your traditional YMCA; there are no basketball courts or swimming pools. The Virginia YMCA is an educational organization that provides leadership development activities for high school students across the state.

The centerpiece of its citizenship and service program is a series of three simulations—the Model General Assembly, the Model Judiciary Program, and the Model Executive Conference. Each provides a simulated experience (with the help of real state officials) through which students can learn the theory, procedures, and practice of that particular branch of state government.

In April 1986, for example, over 600 students from seventy different high schools across the Commonwealth convened for the Model General Assembly in Richmond. For three days, students reenacted the legislative process, playing the roles of senators, delegates, officers, reporters, and lobbyists. Over seventy pieces of legislation—from "no pass, no play" bills to Chesapeake Bay clean-up suggestions to stiffer drunk driving penalties —were introduced and debated. The students, reflecting public opinion polls but differing from their elected counterparts, even okayed a lottery for Virginia!

The programs encourage the involvement of teachers, local school districts, state officials, and the Virginia Bar Association. Teachers participating in the Model Judiciary Program, for instance, will select students to work with local attorneys and prepare a mock trial, which is heard in the circuit court by a local judge. Selected schools then are asked to participate in the appellate process where the young "lawyers" present oral arguments to the actual justices of the Virginia Supreme Court.

Mark Coward, Associate Executive Director of the Virginia YMCA, is enthusiastic about the programs. He notes that since they began in 1948, more than 25,000 Virginia high school students have participated in the simulations. "It is a great way for kids from all over the state to get together and learn about their common needs and goals. It it a good supplement to what they learn in the classroom, but more importantly, they can actually live the process; they are learning by doing!"

For more information, contact Mr. Mark Coward, Associate Executive Director, The Virginia YMCA, P.O. Box 10365, Lynchburg, VA 24506 or (804) 385-9117.

Learning By Caring

The United Way Human Services Project

"Students who will make good citizens must learn of reality, become a part of it, and assist in providing a solution to its problems. Giving of one's self is the initial phase of becoming a part of society. It is called volunteering."

Toni McMahon, chairperson of the Social Needs Planning Committee for the Fairfax-Falls Church United Way, feels strongly about the important role volunteers have in providing services to the local community. "It is particularly easy in a county such as Fairfax . . . to gloss over the fact that there are needs," she says. "The actuality of the situation is that Fairfax does have needs."

The United Way Human Services Project creates the setting for youth's involvement in volunteerism in the Fairfax community. The project is based on a unique partnership among many individuals and agencies—the United Way, the Fairfax County Public Schools, teachers, the Voluntary Action Center, government and non-profit agencies, parent volunteers, and, most importantly, student volunteers.

The Human Services Project has been established as a part of the twelfth-grade government curriculum in high schools throughout Fairfax County; over 1,000 students has participated so far. It has a special relevance in a time of diminished government resources and increasing social needs. The program is adaptable to different teaching plans and styles. Students can earn credit for volunteer service; for research and interviews with human service agency staff members; and for individual or team projects.

The heart of the program is the opportunity for students to work as volunteers with an agency of their choice. Students may build a playground, provide recreational leadership in a retirement home or day care center, or work as a peer counselor in a drug rehabiliation center.

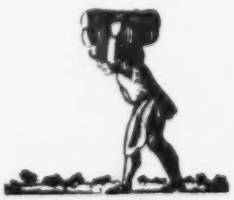
Students are interviewed by local parent coordinators and matched with an appropriate community agency. During their volunteer experiences, students keep logs of their work and may also be required to report back through a variety of methods such as research papers, visual displays, special projects, class discussions, and panel presentations.

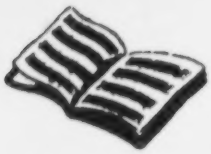
The work students do as volunteers teaches them about the community in which they live and about the very real needs of the people within the community.

Anne Dickerson of Thomas Jefferson High School led senior citizens at a "sing-along" at Lee Wood Nursing Home.

Students learn that "need" is not necessarily related to economic condition—that it may relate to isolation or other non-monetary situations. One student wrote of her work at a switchboard (TEDI) for the deaf, "I felt TEDI was a good learning experience . . . because it made me appreciate being a hearing person and it gave me responsibility. I met new people and I had the satisfaction of knowing that I really helped people. Even though I've completed the required number of hours, I plan to continue volunteering two hours each week during the summer. Thank you for this opportunity."

For more information, contact Mrs. leanor Duffield, James Madison High School, 2500 James Madison Drive, Vienna, VA 22180 or (703) 938-2225.





Getting It Together:

Start Your Own Virginiana Collection

Many free or inexpensive books, pamphlets, maps and charts are available to schools and libraries—if you know where to look. A Virginiana Collection in your classroom or library can help you and your students learn more about the Commonwealth—its history and its future.

All the items listed below are free; the next issue will include books and materials available at a small cost (why not seek sources of funding now from groups like the PTA, the principal's discretionary fund, and corporate or community group donations?). Another hint: keep 10 or 20 postcards in your desk so you can quickly order items when they strike your interest—avoid the "do it later" syndrome!

The treasure house of all publications is the current issue of ***Virginia State Publications***, a bibiliography of all state materials in print. It is available from the Publications Department, Virginia State Library, 12th and Capitol Streets, Richmond, VA 23219.

Virginia Facts and Figures, ***Manufacturing Developments in Virginia***, and ***The Virginia Economy*** are available from the Governor's Office, Division of Industrial Development, 1000 Washington Bldg., Richmond, VA 23219.

Virginia Government in Brief, ***The Condition of the Commonwealth***, and ***Virginia: A Future Worthy of Her Past*** are available from the Department of Planning and Budget, P.O. Box 1422, Richmond, VA 23211.

An organizational chart of Virginia's government is available from the Secretary of the Commonwealth, P.O. Box 1-B, Richmond, VA 23201.

Virginia State Government: A Point in Time, ***Public Education in Virginia*** (quarterly publication), and ***Report on Public Education in Virginia*** are available from the Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216.

Highway and Tourist maps of Virginia are available from your local Division of Motor Vehicles, Virginia Highway Department or State Tourism Office.

Civil War Battlefields, ***Economic Analysis***, ***Virginia Book***, and ***Historic Homes in Virginia*** are available from the Division of Tourism, 6 N. Sixth Street, Richmond, VA 23219.

Notes on Virginia (a bi-annual bulletin) and the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission brochure are available from the Commission at 221 Governor Street, Richmond, VA 23219.

Monthly subscriptions to the ***University of Virginia News Letter*** with articles by the foremost authorities on state and local government and issues of importance in Virginia are available from the Institute of Government.

The Constitution of Virginia and guides to the Members of the General Assembly are available from the Legislative Support Commission, c/o Division of Legislative Automated Systems, P.O. Box 654, Richmond, VA 23205.

Two new videotape series are available from the State Department of Education. ***A Question of Government*** is an eight-part series featuring Professor Larry Sabato and Virginia leaders talking about state and local govenment. ***Commonwealth Colloquia*** is a nine-part series of programs on Virginia history. Tapes and study guides are available from the Social Studies Service, State Department of Education, P.O. Box 6Q, Richmond, VA 23216.

TRIVIA/GINIA Did you know that...

- the Virginia Constitution mandates that the Commonwealth "conserve, develop, and utilize its natural resources, its public lands, and its historical sites and buildings?"
- over the past two decades, Virginia has outpaced the nation in economic growth?
- fifty years ago, agriculture dominated Virginia's economy but now accounts for only 2 percent of Virginia's workers?
- Virginia has one of the largest state highway systems in the country?
- Hampton Roads is the largest coal-handling complex in the world?
- Virginia has fourteen commercial airports?
- Virginia's community colleges are located within commuting distance of 95 percent of the population?
- the greatest source of water pollution in the Chesapeake Bay is "non-point pollution," that is, the run-off of sediments and chemicals from farm and urban land?

- the "Dillon Rule" requires cities to ask permission of the General Assembly before making decisions not specifically listed in their charters?
- Virginia is divided into twenty-two planning districts, each with a planning district commission, which suggest policy for land and water use?
- tobacco was packed in large barrels called "hogsheads" and rolled to wharves for shipment to England?
- Virginia was home to Algonquin, Troquois, and Sioux Indians?
- Richmond had a major league baseball team in 1884?

Local Taxation in Virginia: an Overview

by Albert W. Spengler

Taxes—we all pay them, but few of us understand the mechanics of the process. Where do localities derive their power to tax? What limitations are placed on the ability to tax? What type of taxes are preferable? What taxes are currently used by Virginia's localities? What sort of tax relief programs are offered by localities?

Taxing Authority and Limitations

A locality has no power to tax except that given to it by the state constitution or by the General Assembly through general laws or charters. The legislature carefully guards local taxing authority, making changes very slowly. Currently, Virginia counties and cities have substantially different taxing authorities.

As a rule, cities and towns are granted the authority to levy a broad range of taxes under the "general taxing powers" found in their charters. With this authority, cities and towns have been able to levy a wide variety of local taxes.

Counties, on the other hand, may levy only those taxes permitted by general law unless they secure special enabling legislation from the General Assembly. In the past the legislature has been very reluctant to grant general taxing authority to counties. At one time this different taxing authority probably reflected clear distinctions between the primarily rural counties and urban areas. Today, some of Virginia's cities like Suffolk and Chesapeake have extremely large geographical areas, and some counties like Fairfax and Henrico have become urbanized so those differences are muted. Thus, all localities, some argue, should be granted equal taxing authority.

In addition to the taxing authority granted to them in their charters, towns have the pre-emptive right to levy certain taxes. If the town levies the tax, either the county cannot levy the tax at all or the county's ability to levy the tax is greatly reduced. An example of the first case would be the business, professional, and occupational license tax; counties must get the permission of the town in order for the county to levy these taxes within the town's jurisdiction. The motor vehicle license tax would be an example of the second type; if a town within a county levies a motor vehicle license tax, the county must credit the owner with the tax paid to the town. If, however, the town tax is equal to the maximum allowed by state law, then the county may not impose any further tax.

Most local taxes, with the exception of general property taxes, have statutory limits on the rate that may be levied by the locality. For example, the Code of Virginia restricts the utility consumers' tax on residential customers of telephone, gas, water, and electric services to a maximum rate of 20 percent of the first $15 of the monthly bill. (However, any locality which had in effect before July 1, 1972 a tax rate exceeding the current statutory ceiling may continue to tax at the previous level, but may not raise the rate; this is called "grandfathering" the law into effect.)

"Good" Taxes versus "Bad" Taxes

For most people, tax fairness has come to mean taxation according to ability to pay. Based on this criteria, taxes are generally considered to be either progressive or regressive. Progressive taxes, like the federal income tax, are based on the concept that a person's tax bill should increase in direct proportion to his/her income; the more one has, the more one pays. Regressive taxes affect all taxpayers equally, and so they tend to burden the poor disproportionately. The sales tax is the classic example of a regressive tax. (The sales tax could be made less burdensome by exempting food, since the poor spend a larger percent of their budget on food, and by taxing services, since expenditures for services such as dry cleaning and auto repairs tend to rise as income rise.) Ideally, one would want all taxes to be progressive.

Types of Taxes

General property taxes are by far the single largest local source of revenue. There are five classifications of property taxes: real property, tangible personal property (such as motor vehicles), machinery and tools, merchants' capital, and the real and personal property of public service corporations.

The amount of revenue received from property taxes depends on the total assessed valuation and the tax rate. By state law, real property is to be assessed by local officials, or valued for tax purposes, at 100 percent of the fair market value. The assessment ratios for other types of property are fixed locally.

The effective local tax rate is determined by multiplying the nominal tax rate by the local assessment ratio. Two localities both may have a nominal tax rate of $1.00 per $100 of assessed value on tangible personal property; however, if one locality has an assessment ratio of 100 percent, while the other has a ratio of 50 percent, effective tax rates of $1.00 and $0.50 are set. Thus, when comparing rates among localities, effective tax rates should be compared since they present a more accurate reflection of the tax burden being borne by the citizens.

Among other taxes used by localities are:

1. the 1 percent local option sales and use tax (the local option sales tax is a piggyback tax, and it is collected with the state 3 percent sales tax);
2. the utility consumers tax, which is based on the amount of the utility bill, and is included as a separate item on the bill;
3. the four excise sales taxes on meals, rooms, admissions and cigarettes;
4. the motor vehicle license tax; and
5. the business, professional and occupational license tax, which is levied on the gross receipts of a business. There are four broad categories for classifying business concerns: contractors; retail sales; financial real estate, and professional services; and repair, personal, and business servies.

While taxes account for most local revenue, other revenue sources are available to localities. These include:

1. service charges (refuse collection fees);
2. permits, fees, and licenses (animal license and building permits);
3. fines and forfeitures (parking fines); and
4. revenue from use of money and property such as interest on investments and sale of junk.

These sources are becoming more important as federal and state sources of revenue are reduced or eliminated.

Tax Relief Programs

The Virginia Constitution permits localities to enact certain tax relief programs. Some examples are property tax relief for the elderly and handicapped; relief for persons who rehabilitate certain residential, commercial, or industrial real estate; and exemptions for the installation of pollution control equipment, solar energy devices, and energy conversion equipment.

These exemptions are intended either to provide relief to people whose property tax burden is regarded as excessive—the elderly, for example—or to encourage property owners to undertake (or to continue) activities that serve broader social objectives, such as reducing levels of air and water pollution.

A type of property tax permitted under general law includes land use assessment for agricultural, forestal, open space, and horticultural land. Under a land use assessment program, land is valued for tax purposes on the basis of its use rather than its market value. The overall goal of land use assessment is to preserve certain types of land; at the same time, use value assessment is a form of tax relief for the landowners taking part in the program. It should be remembered that all of these tax relief programs are local options.

Albert W. Spengler is an Associate in Research with the Institute of Government. He is the author of the Institute's ***Tax Rates in Virginia Cities, Counties, and Selected Towns****, published annually.*

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Notes from the TRS—We're Looking Out for Government Teachers!

Looking Backward

This year has been an important one for the Teacher Resource Service—the program is now firmly established and the government teachers of Virginia have found a new source of curricular support.

Highlights have included:

- the distribution of 800 copies of ***Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*** to teachers around the Commonwealth;
- a series of four Legislative Seminars in Richmond, which attracted over 150 teachers;
- workshops in Norfolk, Richmond, Virginia Beach, Abingdon, Charlottesville, and Front Royal, as well as at national and regional meetings of social studies educators;
- the distribution of ***Virginia Votes 1979-1982*** to all high school and middle school libraries;
- the dissemination of materials on Virginia government to hundreds of teachers;
- the creation of the first volume of ***The Quarterly***;
- the establishment of the Fellowship in Virginia Government through an appropriation of the General Assembly and its continued support through the University of Virginia.

Looking Forward

Although most of you will be enjoying summer at the beach or some other restful setting, the TRS will be gearing up for another year of service to Virginia's teachers.

During the summer, we plan to:

- update pages of the notebook with new information, charts, and corrections;
- set up in-service workshops for August and September;
- correct and update our mailing list;
- provide staff support for summer workshops at UVA and VPI-SU.

Looking at Section H

The final section of ***Resources for Teaching Virginia Government*** is now complete and will be distributed around Labor Day. Section H tackles one of Virginia's critical problems—the use and distribution of water resources.

The 80-page section includes:

- an overview of the problems and opportunities of Virginia's waters
- charts and maps to reproduce for class work
- water rights and water laws
- a look at wastewater treatment and plant construction
- three cases studies analyzing and comparing actual regional water issues
- a class simulation—Water Emergency!

Looking For Ideas

The TRS is a service—please use us! Hundreds of teachers this year have asked for materials or taken part in our workshops. To take advantage of these services, please remember to:

- clip articles from ***The Quarterly*** to photocopy or display on your bulletin board;
- adapt any ideas and activities to your grade level;
- leaf through the notebook to find one or two new ideas to use next year (Section A has a scavenger hunt that's especially useful for the first days of a new school year);
- ask your supervisors to arrange for the coordinator of the TRS to do a workshop in your school;
- contribute your ideas, lessons, and suggestions;
- plan to apply to be the Fellow in Virginia Government; full information will be available in September!